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THE last quarter of the century in which we live has witnessed the rise and growth in this country of a species of literature hitherto unknown among us. The instinct which has produced it, and the appetite on which it thrives, are nothing new. They are at least as old as the time of St. Paul's visit to Athens, as to which his companion records that they found that "all the Athenians and strangers that were there employed themselves in nothing else but either telling or hearing some new thing." We cannot suppose that the new things on which the gossips of Athens lived were chiefly matters of political or philosophical speculation. It was probably not very safe under Tiberius, Caligula, or Nero, to speculate too much on the acts or character of the Government. Mr. *Punch* and his cartoons would not have flourished in a society such as that. Neither can we suppose that the worthy Athenians, notwithstanding the ancient glories of their city, devoted themselves exclusively to the questions between the rival schools which flourished in their midst. They were probably as glad of a good bit of scandal or personal gossip as any more modern society could be. What is of universal experience is the fact that men and women will delight above all things in talking of one another, and that any thing, any person, or any community which becomes at all conspicuous, must pay the penalty of being talked over and pulled to pieces, and of having all the details, or supposed details, of his or her or its existence discussed and reported and made public property. The famous old man into whose mouth Terence put his well known words,

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto,

was in fact a gossip and meddler of the first water, and Chremes had had many ancestors before Terence immortalized his race, and his family has lived ever since and shows no signs of extinction.

This, as we say, is of universal experience, and we shall never see the day when human curiosity does not feed itself on the words and acts and characters of its neighbours, until this poor miserable world is changed for a better. But what is peculiar to the England of the days in which we live is, that there is a large class of persons who live by nothing else, as St. Luke says, than pandering to this insatiable curiosity. Curiosity-mongering is becoming a profession to which gentlemen of education do not scruple to devote themselves. Just as some men live by their betting-books and others by their cards, so many a man, well received in society, lives by his contributions to this class of literature. The organs in which it courts the public attention are well conducted, as far as such things can be well conducted,—which is about what might be said of the more respectable dancing-halls and other places of fast and low amusement. The writers are well paid, and they, in return for their pay, furnish, in many cases, well-founded information. It is also not to be said that there is at all generally much personal malice in the contributions. Just as our caricaturists, with some exceptions, are good-humoured rather than bitter, and leave malignity and snarling and hatred to certain evening or weekly journalists, who never by any chance say a good-natured thing of anybody, so our "society" writers are usually content to satisfy the appetite of curiosity *pure et simple*, without disturbing the digestion by too much spite as a condiment. The papers in question are well got up, and, we have not the slightest doubt, well supported. There is a good deal of padding in them. They do not altogether neglect contemporary history or politics or literature. They have invented a whole system of questions and answers and puzzles—anagrams, parodies, no one knows what. Hundreds of good souls strain themselves, week after week, to send in the best answer and gain the good marks which are credited to the most successful correspondents. But after all, all this is padding. The one thing for which these papers live and for which Englishmen and Englishwomen are not ashamed to read them, is gossip about persons, more or less—often less—conspicuous for anything, whether as being professional beauties or as distinguished ecclesiastics, it does not matter. So whenever these papers add the attraction of an illustration to their other fascinations, it is always in the shape of a portrait of some lady or gentleman, of whom a good many of its readers have never heard, but with whose features they

are very happy to become familiar. The essence of the society papers, whatever may be their accidental recommendations, is personal small talk. They do not even profess to go through the list of the great men of the day, the politicians, the poets, the pulpit celebrities, the distinguished soldiers or sailors of the country. A fashionable lady or a well-known fox hunter is more in their line than Mr. Gladstone or Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Such is the phenomenon of which we are speaking; a sign certainly, we think, of the vulgarity and flunkeyism of the day, if not of a lowering in our moral tone. Just at present the subject forces itself upon us Catholics, because one of these "society" papers is promising to treat its readers with a series of essays which will aim at giving a sort of analysis of our small community for the benefit of its readers. We are to have our bishops and chief laymen, our convents and colleges, and what not, "exploited," in the best style, by some of these adventurous scribes. Now, there is no use in being very tragic about this matter. We must take our turn with our neighbours, and we must hope that we shall not fare worse than others, or care more how we fare. Catholic ecclesiastics, in particular, have so much serious work always to occupy them, that they are not very likely to attend very anxiously to this gossip. The writers are not likely to be guilty of libel, for they know the law too well not to be careful. As we have already said, one chief phenomenon of the subject is that the writers are often friends, or would be friends, of the persons described, and that they usually find a good deal to say by way of praise. They are not slashing satirists, they are simply the purveyors of small talk. There may be an infinite amount of bad taste and offensiveness in the business, but it is worse for the agents than for their subjects. The people who suffer the most are the friends of the persons whose private life is so carefully related, whose most sacred feelings and intimate histories are unveiled. The whole thing is a phase of frivolity, vanity, childishness, and worldliness, and has no blacker character. But what is worth saying is this—if people do not really dislike and disapprove of this kind of thing, they have no right to speak as if they did. It is of no use crying out against the wickedness of the "society" papers, if we encourage them. Let us now see what is meant by encouraging them.

The first and most flagrant case of encouragement is, of course, that of those who actually help them. We have heard

of more than one distinguished person who, if he has not invited the notice of himself which has delighted the quidnuncs of some "society" paper, has at least sat for his portrait by allowing the commission to be put into the hands of some professed friend, who has been posted up in the particulars of the daily life of his not unwilling victim. Sometimes it is in the way of "the celebrated Mr. Gregsbury," and all means possible are placed at the artist's disposal to secure a favourable likeness. Sometimes it is only that the subject of the memoir has felt it better, on the whole, if the thing is to be done, that it should be done by a friendly hand, instead of by the hand of any one whom the angry editor may select after his overtures have been rejected. We have nothing to say as to this manner of proceeding, which is very like that of the people whose jewels are stolen, and who come to an understanding with the thieves to avoid trouble, and get them back cheaply, except that these persons certainly lose their right to talk against the treatment which they have themselves submitted to, if only in order to avoid worse. But when the thing is done from a love of notoriety, and a desire to set the public talking about themselves, just in the tone which they themselves select, those who encourage the "society" papers in this way are their accomplices, and not their victims.

Another manner of encouragement is the recognition of the trade of a "society" writer as a profession which a gentleman may pursue. We are not now giving an opinion on the morality, or the nobility, or the honesty, of this *métier*. We conceive that there may be more than one possible view entertained by good men on the subject, and we have no business to dictate, or even to express a strong opinion one way or the other. We are speaking of the persons who do express strong opinions,—who talk loudly against that violation of private life and the secrets of intimacy which is often involved in the disclosures made by these interesting servants of the public curiosity. And of such persons it is fair to say, that if they think the *métier* of the "society" writer an ignoble one, they have one course which, if they do not take, they should hold their tongues. Let the drawing-room, the dining-room, the ball-room, in their house, be shut against the penmen of the "society" papers. Let them have no invitations to their country houses or their shooting parties. It is by these opportunities that such writers obtain their information, just as Mr. Jeames De La Pluche obtains his,

by listening to the conversation as he stands behind his master's chair at the dinner-table. As long as the men of the "society" papers are freely invited and welcomed like other gentlemen, they have a right that their occupation should not be spoken of as ungentlemanly. Their offence, if it be an offence, is mainly a social offence, though it must, of course, have its moral and religious side. The punishment of social offences is in the hands of society itself. That punishment is proscription. The man who is cut at his club, and passed in the street without recognition, who finds all the friends he calls on "not at home," and is never invited to their houses, feels himself a punished man, and is likely to leave off his offence. In the case before us, he will be unable to repeat it. Society can put down the dances, or the ways of dressing, or the kind of language, which it is determined to reprobate—and it could put down these papers by making it worth no one's while to write to them, if it chose.

There is a third kind of encouragement which we almost shrink from mentioning, because to do so is like proposing an heroic remedy to persons who may be a great many good things, but who are certainly not heroes. But, it must be said, that the great encouragement of the "society" papers comes, as is obvious on the face of the matter, from those who read them and those who buy them. Now here is a very practical question indeed. These papers live very mainly upon what we may call a special circulation in each particular case. One week there is an account of the Marquis of Carabas, and the managers take care that the fact shall be known among the friends and admirers of that most honourable personage. Another time there is a description of Bishop Flounce in his private and domestic life, and the fact that there is this description, is made known by advertisements at the door of Bishop Flounce's cathedral, and throughout the diocese committed to the care of that famous prelate. Then there is a visit to the studio of a famous artist, whose friends are, in the same way, carefully informed that he is to be interviewed for their benefit. Thus the ball is kept up. The special circulation of one week is not the same as that of the week before, but it comes to the same thing in the long run. Each number has a special attraction for somebody's friends, or enemies, as the case may be. And the very shifting of the platform helps on the general reputation of the paper, whose readers, in the course of a year, have acquired quite a wonderful acquaintance

with a large number of interiors. And now, we should be afraid to ask, except that it would not be easy to have an answer—how many are the persons who abuse the "society" papers in general, and who yet, when the time comes round for the victimization or glorification of their own dear friend or favourite aversion, as the case may be, are the most eager to secure an early copy of the offensive print? Here then, again, we may say, let words and deeds coincide. If we think these prints a moral and social mischief, then let us show that we are superior to the temptation on the success of which they live. The friends of the Marquis of Carabas are not tempted by the account of Bishop Flounce. Their virtue is put to the test when the noble Marquis himself is the subject of the day. So also the admirers of his Lordship the Bishop are not tested when the Marquis is being handled. But then, when the Bishop's turn comes, what a pity to see the brilliant professions of disgust at the "society" papers in general, yielding to the seductive article which touches to the quick our own special curiosity! We all know how to treat an anonymous letter. We may have a strong suspicion that the handwriting betrays our friend V. But, nevertheless, we throw it into the fire unread, we mention its arrival to nobody, and if we chance to meet V. in the street we shake him by the hand with even unusual cordiality. He goes away crestfallen, thinking that his missive has failed of its aim. Well—an article in a "society" paper is very like an anonymous letter. It belongs at least to the same category of shabbiness and sneakishness. The way to deal with it is to take no notice of it whatever. The way to encourage it, and give its writer and publisher the greatest possible satisfaction, is to abuse it loudly and then—eagerly read it.

In short, it comes to this—there is a great deal of hypocrisy in all the talk that we hear against these papers, and they are not an inevitable evil. An evil they may be, but they are an evil which people could get rid of, if they had the courage to do it. Londoners have no right to complain of smoke, now that it is clear that, if they choose, there might be no greater plague of smoke in London than in Paris. If people say, "What can one or two do? the "society" papers will go on just as well, whether we read them or not," this is just the answer which the Londoner may make, with far greater justice, as to his smoking chimney. We say, with far greater justice, because the circulation

of a paper of this sort depends on hundreds, and not on hundreds of thousands. At all events, we should be left alone, if Catholics never read these things, and Catholics are a small enough body to act with something like unanimity if they like. It would be as easy to take a pledge against reading a "society" paper as against taking spirituous drinks, and it would be much easier to keep the pledge in one case than in the other. It is quite clear, moreover, that the writers who pander to this taste by describing Catholic personages, are themselves members of the community about which they write. We do not take all that they say as being even meant to be understood as literally true. They have their figures of rhetoric in which they deem it lawful to indulge like other folk. Many a scarcely fledged stripling, who "does" the London Correspondence for the smaller provincial papers, writes about the debates of the House of Commons as if he were a member of Parliament himself. If he has to report some rumour, he knows how much smarter it is for him to put it into the form of a confidential communication which he has personally received, while smoking his cigar with a Cabinet Minister, than simply to say that this or that is reported within the comparatively insignificant circle in which he lives and moves. In the same way, when a writer in a "society" paper tells us that some well-known person made a remark to him about his opinion of another well-known person, we know that he only means that he has heard some one say something of the kind. But, on the whole, it is impossible to doubt that the gentlemen who know so much about us all are Catholics like ourselves. Everything can be had for money in this Babylon in which we live. And we have already implied that we can quite imagine many persons sincerely thinking that they are doing a service to the Catholic cause, as well as to their own pockets, by these kind revelations of the early life or domestic habits of this or that distinguished convert or dignitary. We do not judge them—but we say that the Catholic body can put down this kind of thing concerning its own celebrities if it chooses. The offences of the society writers are like election bribery—they will never be stopped as long as those who talk against them condone them and even encourage them; but they will be stopped at once, as soon as a general dominant opinion is formed and acted on that they ought not to be tolerated.

Roman and Mediæval York: A Bird's-Eye View.

FEW of the readers of the MONTH are likely to have forgotten the interesting series of papers on "Old York" which appeared in these pages in 1875-6. They dealt chiefly with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the present article we would attempt to give "a bird's-eye view" of this ancient city at two earlier periods. We trust no apology is needed for again treating of "Old York"—*Britannici orbis Roma altera*. Without endorsing the statement of old Geoffry of Monmouth, as cited by the learned F. Drake, that Kaer-Ebranc=Eboracum=York, was founded "about the time that David ruled in Judea, and Sylvius Latinus in Italy, *ante Christum* 983,"¹ we may take it as most probable, though no authentic record of this ancient city earlier than that of Tacitus in his *Vita Agricolæ* has come down to us, its existence dated from times far remote. We have too much respect and consideration for our readers to endeavour to penetrate the obscurity of pre-historic times. Gathering here and there such slender materials as time has left us, we would endeavour to weave a garland of antiquarian gossip to hang on the outer portals of the Temple of History.

Whatever York may have been previously, probably but timber huts gathered together within the girdle of a rampart and a ditch, it was in the second campaign of Agricola that it became a Roman station of importance, with an *enceinte* of stone and brick walls. Thirty-five years after Agricola had left Britain (A.D. 120), the Emperor Hadrian himself reached York, and left there as a garrison the famous Legio Sexta Victrix. Of this sixth legion numerous mementos have been left to our day, as we shall see hereafter.

And now that Eboracum had become a station of the highest importance, the head-quarters of a legion, the residence of a Proprætor or Vicegerent, the resting-place of the Emperor on the occasion of his imperial progress through Britain, we

¹ Drake, *History and Antiquities of York* (1785), vol. i. p. 3.

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REFERENCE TO EXISTING CHURCHES, &c.

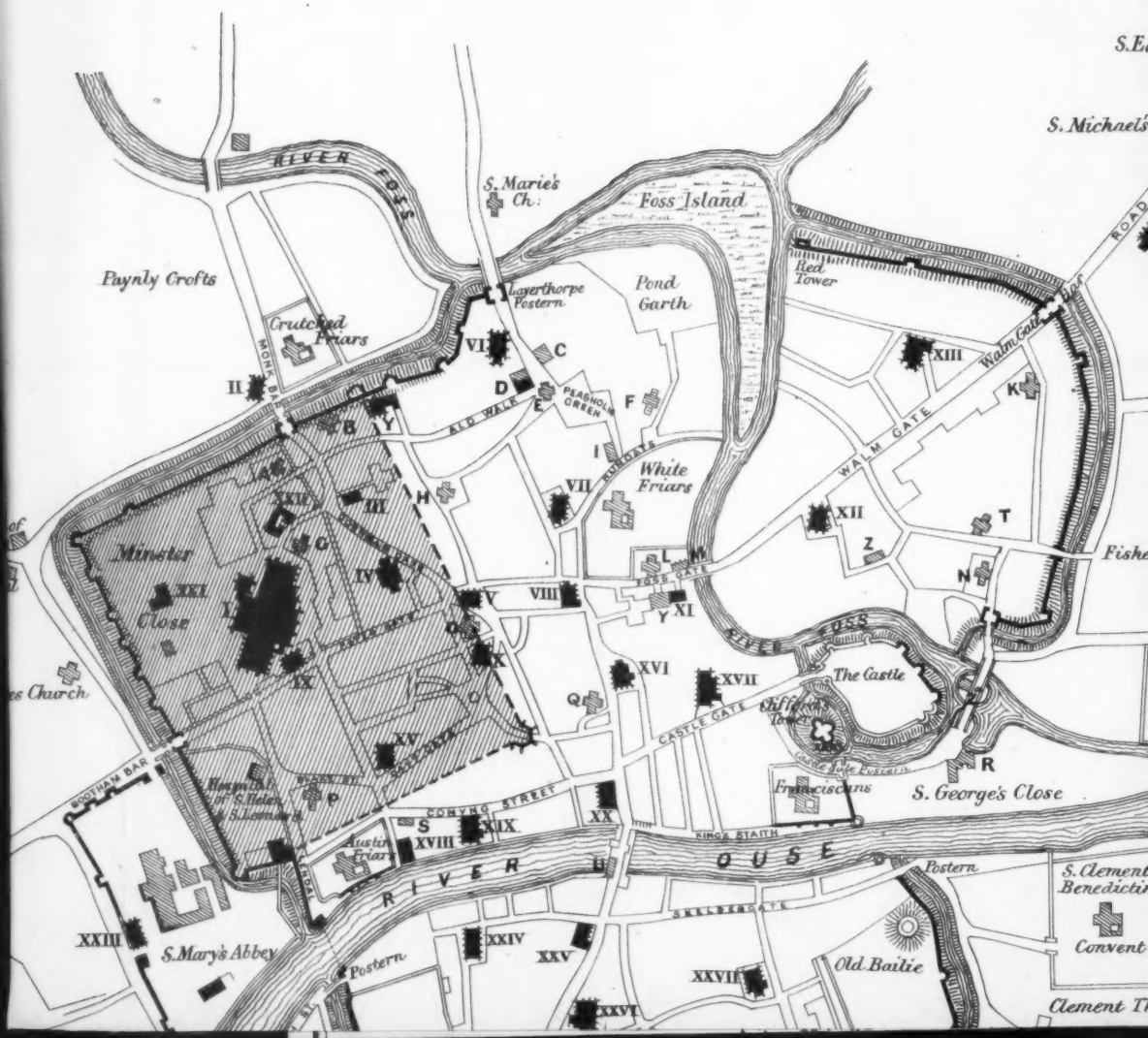
- I. Cathedral Church of St. Peter (The Minster).
- II. St. Maurice out of Monk Bar.
- III. St. Trinity Chapel, Bedern.
- IV. St. Trinity, or St. John de la Pyke.
- V. Christ Church or St. Trinity, King's Square.
- VI. St. Cuthbert, Peasholm Green.
- VII. St. Saviour, Saviour Gate.
- VIII. St. Crux, Pavement.
- IX. St. Michael le Belfry, Petergate.
- X. St. Sampson, Sampson's Square.
- XI. Hospital of SS. Mary and John, Merchant's Hall,
Foss Gate.
- XII. St. Dyonis, Walmgate.
- XIII. St. Margaret, Walmgate.
- XIV. St. Laurence out of Walmgate.
- XV. St. Helen, Stonegate.
- XVI. All Hallows, Pavement.
- XVII. St. Marie's, Castlegate.
- XVIII. Guild Hall of St. Christopher.
- XIX. St. Martin, Conyng Street.
- XX. St. Michael, Spurrier Gate.
- XXI. Archiepiscopal Chapel, Minster Close.
- XXII. St. William's College.
- XXIII. St. Olave, Marie-gate.
- XXIV. All Hallows, North Street.
- XXV. St. John's, Micklegate.
- XXVI. St. Martin, Micklegate.
- XXVII. St. Marie's, Bishop-hill, Senior.
- XXVIII. St. Marie's, Bishop-hill, Junior.
- XXIX. St. Trinity, Micklegate.
- XXX. St. Thomas Hospital out of Micklegate Bar.
- XXXI. Chapel in Clifford's Tower.



XXI

Ecclesiastical Map of Ancient York.

N.B.—Roman York shown by Dark Tint.





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REFERENCE TO CHURCHES, CHAPELS, HOSPITALS, &c., NOW DESTROYED.

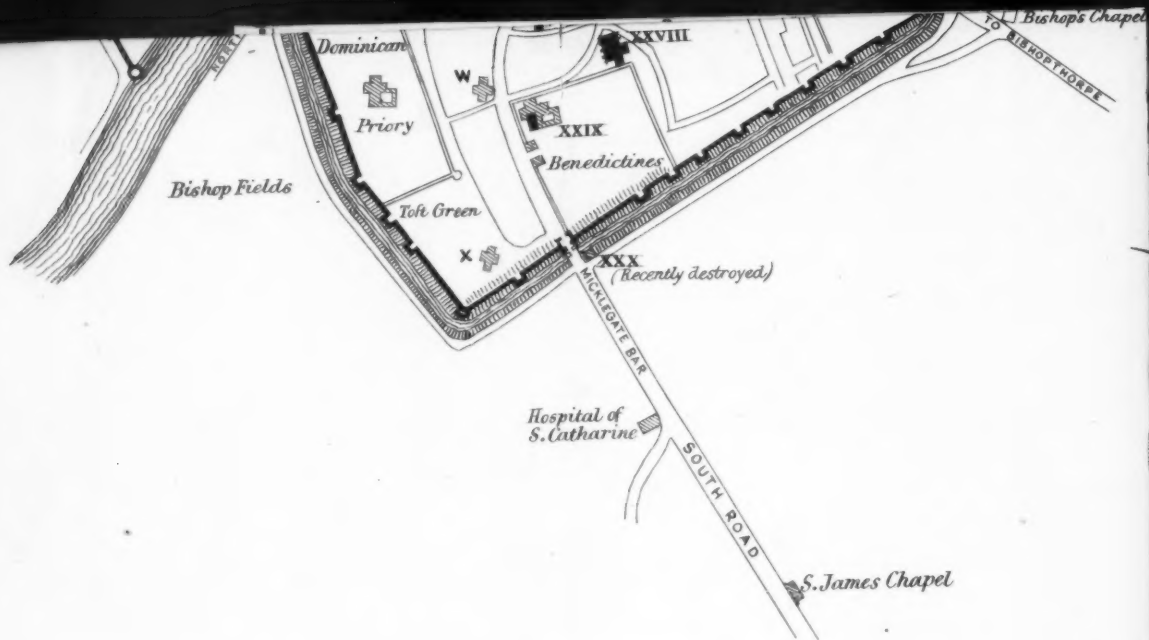
- A Church of St. John del Pyke.
- B Church of St. Helen Aldwark.
- C Bigods Hospital.
- D St. Anthony's Hospital, Peasholm Green
- E Church of All Hallows. " "
- F Church of St. John, Palmer Lane.
- G Church of St. Marie.
- H Church of St. Andrew, St. Andrew's Gate.
- I St. Catherine's Chapel, Haver Lane.
- K Church of St. Peter en les Willughes, Long Close.
- L Church of St. Clement, Foss Gate.
- M St. Anne's Chapel, Foss Bridge.
- N Church of St. George, Fishergate.
- O Church of St. Ben'et, Patrick's Pool.
- P Church of St. Wilfrid, Blake Street.
- Q Church of St. Peter le Little, Ousegate.
- R St. George's Chapel, St. George's Close.
- S St. Christopher's Chapel, Conyng Street.
- T Church of All Hallows, Fishergate.
- U St. William's Chapel, Ousebridge.
- W Church of St. Gregory, Micklegate.
- X Church of St. Nicholas, Toft Green.
- Y Hospital of the Tailor's Hall.
- Z Hospital of the Cordwainers.
- Z• St. Anne's Chapel, Foss Bridge.

LIST OF CHURCHES, CHAPELS, &c., THE SITES OF WHICH ARE NOW UNKNOWN.

- St. Andrew's Church, Fishergate.
- St. George's Church, Beanhills.
- St. Bridget's Church, Micklegate.
- St. Stephen's Church.
- St. Marie's Church, Walmgate.
- St. Marie's Chapel, Mariesgate.
- St. Christopher's Chapel.
- Chapel in the Castle.
- St. Anthony's Hospital, Gillygate.
- An Hospital in Markgate.

N.B.—Churches now destroyed are represented thus
When connected with Monastic Buildings thus
Hospitals are distinguished by a square, thus
Chapels shewn by an oblong figure, thus
All Churches, Chapels, Hospitals, &c., at
present existing are shown in black, thus

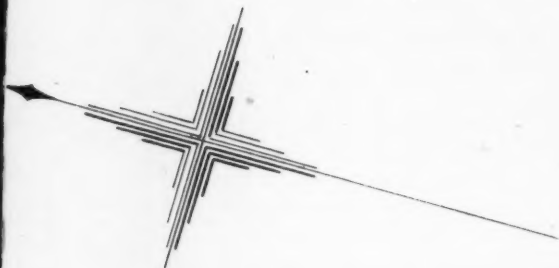




ps Chapel

ORP

St. Giles' Hospital.
St. Thomas the Martyr's Hospital, without Monkbar.
Spital in Fishergate, near St. Helen's Church.



St. Giles' Hospital.
St. Thomas the Martyr's Hospital, without Monkbar.
Spital in Fishergate, near St. Helen's Church.

RECEIVED BY THE BOARD OF
MANAGEMENT OF ST. GILES' HOSPITAL



may endeavour to obtain a general idea of Roman York. We must not however forget that fourteen centuries have passed over the old city, and no detailed cotemporary description of its aspect in Roman times has been left to us. William of Malmesbury² ascribes the chief destruction of the Roman city to the wasting of William the Conqueror, when he writes, "In aliquibus tamen parietum ruinis qui semirutū remansere videas Romanorum artificia." "What wonder then," adds the learned historian, "that we have so few Roman antiquities to produce?" This being so, one must glean a stray record where it is to be found, and from shattered walls, sculptured fragments, buried mosaics, and empty tombs, endeavour to build up Eboracum.

Based on the outline of the original temporary camp first shaped out and defined by Agricola, where the scattered huts and irregular trenches of the Britons originally lay on the north-east bank of the Ouse, we may pretty surely define the actual area of Roman York. Adhering to the form of the *castra hyberna*, the city presented a rectangular inclosure measuring 650 yards by 550,³ covering about one fifth of the present area, and occupying the north-east corner of the existing city. This square was enclosed by walls, of which extensive fragments, constructed of mixed stone and brick, still remain. Built on masses of concrete of cobble stones and coarse mortar, or closely driven oaken piles,⁴ these walls rose to a considerable height, terminated by a parapet, and backed up within a few feet of their elevation by a broad rampart of earth, forming a means of circuit for watch and ward, and a space for defence on its summit. Square flanking towers rose at frequent intervals within and above these ramparts, presenting their massive walls to the enemy, but open to the city,⁵ and commanding the walls to right and left. Within these towers were gathered on the upper floors stores and arms, and the worn threshold discovered in one case in the basement story suggests the wheels of the *balistæ* or other such engines of war which were employed in those days, which would have been well bestowed for the needs of defence so close at hand. At the angles of the "four-square city" rose stronger and more important towers, and as one of these exists in wonderful preservation, its form and size speak

² Cit. Drake.

³ *Eboracum*, Wellbeloved, p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁵ See for example of late Roman towers open to the interior of city, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture*, Viollet le Duc, vol. ix. p. 72.

for itself. It is a "multangular" construction of considerable dimensions, advancing beyond the lines of the adjacent walls so as to command and flank them, but open at the gorge. It is massively built of stone, belted with courses of brick or broad Roman tiles, strengthened by internal cross walls, and having an advancing base set firmly down to resist the foe.⁶

Four gates opened on the central face of each side of the city, and a fragment of one has come down to us as nearly as possible on the site of a gateway in mediæval times. It must have combined all the massive and enduring character of Roman work with the richness of architectural detail which often distinguishes their public structures; for side by side with great blocks of grit stone, like remnants of cyclopean work, were found sculptured friezes of wreathes, a triton blowing his horn, and a chariot drawn by four horses and driven by a figure too much defaced to be recognizable. Of the three other gates no remnants exist, though it is not difficult to define their probable positions. That to the south-west must have led at once to the River Ouse, to the bridge over which the important *via* from the south crossed into the city. Some finely sculptured fragments were found in the river bed about the spot where this bridge would have stood, and the Imperial eagle inclosed in a laurel wreath, and the enriched curve of an arch stone may well have adorned this approach to Eboracum. Within the walls, the city was probably laid out with streets crossing each other at right angles, on the former line of the camp, meeting at the central point occupied by the forum or public place, about which would be grouped the prætorium, the tribunals, temples, &c. With a care for sanitary arrangements which we are wont to consider a science exclusively of our own age, these streets were carefully paved and had their side channels carefully formed with tiles, as has been shown by portions of streets uncovered by various modern excavations. The exact site of the Imperial Palace cannot be arrived at precisely, but in all probability it occupied what was later known as the *curia regis*, still King's Square, in the eastern quarter of the city. The names of Aldwark, or the "old work," and Bedern, or *Pertina* (where the English Ambassadors to the Council of Basle stated that Constantine was born), both of which occupy this portion of York to our own day, seem to offer further arguments for

⁶ *The Defences of York*, p. 7. By G. T. Clarke, Esq. Being an Address delivered at York, 1874.

this supposition. Spartian,⁷ writing in the time of Septimius Severus, distinctly speaks of the *Domus Palatina* of Eboracum, and we may fairly conclude that a building of such importance would embrace the usual arcaded courts and vaulted halls, the baths and guard-rooms of Imperial residences, nor would it lack the sumptuous adornments of colonnades, sculptures, and mosaics, of which so many remains are and have been constantly recovered both in this part of York and elsewhere. Probably many of the residences of the citizens, and especially of the military, were constructed in timber framing, but on the other hand the theatre, the circus, the temples, and public baths, were built of more enduring materials. No remains unfortunately exist within the city, and we are left to conjectures and imagination to fill the area inclosed by the ancient Roman walls of Eboracum. Outside these walls, however, in the suburbs of the city, more relics exist, and in considerable quantity, such as afford deeply interesting materials to fill up our sketch.

The four great roads which start from the four gates of which we have spoken, naturally indicate the localities where the buildings external to the actual inclosed city would range themselves. The south-western road to Calcaria, or the modern town of Tadcaster, and which, crossing the river, extended along, what in mediæval times and in our own day is known as Micklegate, seems to have been much built along out into the country for over a mile. To the north-east, the Roman road to Malton, or Camulodunum, plunged at once into the dense forest known by the name of Galtres, which stretched down near to the city walls from the north; but a "firm stone causeway" had been built by the indefatigable hands of the Roman conquerors out in that direction, and seems to have been carried far into the depths of the woods. To the north-west, the road to Isurium, now Aldborough, was only second in importance to that leading to Calcaria, but it seems to have been rather the street of the dead than of the living, so numerous have been the sepulchral remains found along its line. Finally, the south-eastern road, to Derventio, or Stamford Bridge, must have crossed the River Foss, which falls into the Ouse in that direction. Here, according to Drake, the Romans had their dock or harbour, formed by the waters of the Foss retained by a weir, remains of which exist to this day. Directly open by the Ouse to the German Ocean, and to the great Roman dykes

⁷ *Vita Severi*, cap. xxii. Cit. Drake and Wellbeloved.

in Lincolnshire by the Trent, every facility for keeping up abundant supplies of corn and other provision for the garrison was thus afforded, and the small galleys of the period could lie in perfect security under the very walls of the city. Historians of a later period than that of which we are speaking, but still of great antiquity, bear testimony to the mercantile importance of York in Roman times. Alcuin (a native of York) described it as "*emporium terræ commune marisque*," and William of Malmesbury, whilst speaking of the remains of Roman elegance, writes that Eboracum "*includit in medio sinu suo naves a Germania et Hibernia venientes*."⁸ Along the roads also came the caravans of peaceful merchants, protected from the half savage inhabitants of the dense forests through which they passed by the *castra*, or military posts, and finding shelter in the *mansiones*, or stations, provided by the wonderful administrative forethought of the conquerors of the country. Milestones (*milliaria*) indicated the approach to the city—of which several have been found in our day—marking the distance from the gilded pillar which, as in Rome, very probably stood in the Forum of York. And now, as we approach the city, and the *alta turris*, of which Alcuin wrote, and the massive walls, rise upon the view, with the river flowing at their foot, with the high pooped galleys, their long rows of oars and their painted sails, moored along the quays, let us examine some of the buildings along our route, restoring them in imagination as best one may from the remains which have been uncovered from the accumulated dust of ages.

Here, hard by the *via* to Calcaria, is an extensive bath.⁹ It is large in extent and sumptuous in its architecture and the disposition of its chambers. Lofty stone columns and balustrades adorn the structure; the floors of the bath rooms are of beautiful pictorial mosaic or of polished plaster hard as marble. Here, in one of the chambers, stands an altar erected to the goddess Fortune by the daughter of Quintus Antonius, of the third, or Augustan legion. The hypocaust, with its sustaining columns beneath its floor, the fireplace for the boiler, flue pipes

⁸ Cit. apud Drake and Wellbeloved.

⁹ This is on the site of the former terminus of the railway, and it would be difficult to illustrate those great periods of our history better and more concisely than in the changing uses to which it had been put: a bath in the age of Roman luxury, a monastery of the Friar Preachers in the ages of faith, a railway station in our own time of material interests.

marked with the names of the sixth and ninth legions, and leaden pipes for the flow of the water for the various baths, with a system of drains flowing to the river, are all provided, and the disposition of the various rooms for vapour, hot, cold, and tepid baths, is carefully arranged according to the usual Roman mode. Not far from these baths stood the temple dedicated to the "holy god Serapis," as is set forth on an inscribed tablet erected to that deity by Claudius Hieronymianus, legate of the sixth victorious legion. It is like the well-known temple of Fortuna Virilis in Rome—circular in form, covered with a dome, constructed in brick. The dedication to this Egyptian god is supposed to be almost, if not wholly, unique in Britain. Whether or not a temple existed in York for the strange rites of the Persian god Mithras or not, cannot be stated with any certainty; but a large and important sculpture of this deity slaying the bull, and inscribed *soli deo Mitre*—to god Mitras, the sun—was unearthed over a century ago in Mickle-gate, and is carefully preserved in the York Museum. Across the river, and not far distant from the western Multangular Tower of the city, but outside the fortifications, stood the temple of Bellona. Severus, on his way from the north, entered it to give thanks to the gods; but save a small bronze statue of the goddess found in this part of the city, no remains exist. Of the private houses or villas of the citizens, numerous fragments of elaborate mosaic floors, of great beauty of design, remain to show us how entirely the new settlers had brought with them their ideas of elegance and luxury, and without any strain on the imagination we may construct over these beautiful floors the *atria*, the *triclinia*, and the other apartments of Roman villas, such as have been discovered elsewhere, as at Aldborough, and but the other day at Brading. Various fragments of constructive materials such as would be used in the erection of secular buildings, whether public or private, are thrown up wherever the surface of the ground is disturbed to the depth of a few feet. The characteristic thin Roman bricks, tiles for roofing, flue and drain pipes, stamped with the marks of such legions as were stationed at York, or rudely marked by the maker's sign, or a coarse pattern, and *antefixa*, or ornamental tiles to terminate the rows of roof tiles along the eaves or following the pediment, have been frequently discovered. When we add to this list the fact that "several pieces of thick flat glass have been found in York," and "that the discoveries of Pompeii have

shown that it was employed in the glazing of windows,"¹⁰ we have all the constituent constructive portions of permanent buildings, minus the perishable woodwork. In every one of these structures, public or private, and set up out of doors, without the shelter of temple or oratory, were altars, and of these numerous examples have come down to us, and are frequently discovered in the course of excavations in the city.¹¹ These are generally either expressions of gratitude for supposed favours obtained, *e.g.*, from "Jupiter, the best, the greatest; on account of the preservation of the health" of a family; or from Mars, who had preserved the votary in various climes from the risks of war; or to commemorate the gift of freedom, or as a thanks offering to the *genius loci*. Of objects of daily use or ornament, whether fictile or metallic, there are abundant remains to form a more intimate link with the every-day life of the Roman inhabitants of Eboracum, than the too scanty relics of their temples or of their dwellings. *Amphoræ*, for the storing of wine, oil, or honey; *ampullæ*, for daily use at table for holding wine or water; *patæræ*, cups; *ollæ*, jars—in a word, vessels from the potter's wheel of all forms and of diverse material, from the coarsest sun-dried clay to the most delicate Samian ware, rich in colour and adorned with elegant ornaments, have been found in abundance. Fragments of glass vessels have not unfrequently been discovered, and their completed outlines would show that elegance of form had not been lost sight of, whilst their costliness in that age proves how, as the author of *Eboracum* says, "the luxuries of the capital were not unknown in this distant station." As for articles of dress, for personal use or adornments, a pair of women's shoes, or portions of them, is all in the way of clothing that have come to light. Elegantly-enamelled *fibulæ*, or brooches, finger-rings, bracelets, hair-pins, bodkins, and needles, and other minor articles of the toilet, have been recovered in considerable numbers in the baths and elsewhere. Finally, an elegant copper perfume case, delicately inlaid with enamel, and with a faint odour still hanging about it, a far-off remembrance of some long-forgotten Roman lady of fashion, was dug up amidst human bones just outside the city. This

¹⁰ *Eboracum*, p. 129.

¹¹ Three altars—one dedicated to Mars, and forming an adjunct to a life-size statue of the god, of considerable artistic merit, clad as a Roman soldier of patrician rank, found at the same time, the second inscribed to the *Matres domesticæ*, the third to *Deo veteri*,—were discovered on October 26 of last year in digging the foundation for an infirmary and other additions to St. Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York.

memento mori fitly takes us to the burial places of Eboracum, where we find remains both of cremation and interment. Nor, remembering the solemn and touching rites, albeit of paganism, can we look upon these relics of the Roman dead without reverential feelings. As along the street of tombs leading from the Eternal City, so along the great south road, especially, were placed the memorials of the dead as a solemn warning—*cave viator*, or a reminder of the shortness of life—*siste viator*. Perhaps one of the most curious of the sepulchres found on this road is that built up of roofing-tiles, stamped with the name of the Legio Sexta Victrix, set loosely against one another, capped with ridge tiles, and forming a kind of *loculus* or shelter for the remains. Nothing but fragments of bones and charcoal and several iron nails was discovered under this unique monument. Still nearer to York, on the same road, the only example of a sepulchral chamber was brought to light—a vaulted room, containing a great stone coffin, covered with a slab, and a nameless skeleton, with two glass lachrymatory vases on either side of the skull. Amongst numerous stone coffins comparatively few have been found inscribed, but of these each conveys its suggestion of a touching interest. Here, Theodora, the mother of Theodorianus, of far-off Nomentum, amidst the blue Sabine hills, lays her son; here, the wife of a centurion of the German Auxiliaries buries her husband, Aurelius Superus, hard by the Ouse, instead of on the shore of his well-loved Rhine; and here Felicius Simplex, of the sixth legion, victorious, sadly deposits his little daughter, Simplicia Florentina—*anima innocentissima quæ vixit menses decem*.

Such is a slight sketch of old Roman York, seen across the mists and shadows of centuries. We might easily give it life by indulging the imagination, and summoning into existence the stir and movement of the mixed Roman and British inhabitants; the pomp and splendour of the imperial train, the martial flash of the victorious legions, the rattle of chariots and the creaking of rude wains, the trampling of mounted soldiery, and the going and coming of a motley crowd, clad in *toga* or in skins, thronging to the bath or the temple, or to the market place or the tribunal—but we must leave this filling-in of our outline to the fancy of our readers. Before, however, we leave Eboracum, we must say one word as to its chiefest glory and pride, and what was probably the origin of its Christianity. We have alluded to the birth of Constantine the Great at York.

This important event took place when his father, Constantius, was Legate in Britain, under the Emperor Aurelian, A.D. 272. The mother of the future great Emperor was Helena, a British lady, the daughter of a King named Coil, but whether born at York or Colchester is hardly certain.¹² The fact of the birth of her son at York has been disputed, but it is the fashion to dispute facts, and the following citations¹³ seem to be sufficiently conclusive. "Constantinus Magnus, hoc anno in Britannia natus, Patre Constantio et Matre Helena," says the learned Bucholtz; "Domus regalis Angliæ sanctam Helenam, cum suo filio Constantino Magno Imperatore, nato in urbe regia Eboracensi, educere comperta est," and again, "Constantinum . . . Paternæ natum in Eboracensi civitate," as the English Ambassadors at the Councils of Constance and Bale declared; whilst other authorities are quoted by Drake, and are not less definite. Only less in interest to this event, through which Christianity, as another writer expresses it, was able to erect its own churches throughout the universe, is the undoubted record of the deaths of two Emperors in York. Constantius Chlorus died at York A.D. 307, on the 25th of June. Helena, his wife, and Constantine, his son, of whom we have just spoken, were at the death-bed, and the latter was at once proclaimed Emperor in his father's place, and the funeral rites and ceremony of apotheosis of the deceased Emperor were performed. A strange story, not, however, based on very satisfactory grounds, but credited by the learned Camden and Bishop Wilkins, cited by Drake, is that, being buried in York, an unextinguishable lamp was lit in the funeral vault of Constantius, and burnt there till within four centuries of our own day. What is less unlikely is, that the Church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls (St. Ellen ad Muros), which stood on the line of the ditch or wall of the city,¹⁴ and was taken down after the Reformation, covered the site of the interment and possibly the actual sepulchre of her imperial spouse. The Emperor Severus expired in this city A.D. 210, on February the 4th, and though it had been supposed that he was interred beneath one of three slight elevations just outside of York, and known as "Severus' hills," and for long believed to be artificial tumuli, this idea has been absolutely disproved by the evidences of their natural formation, established by the late Professor Phillips, and by the excavations made some twenty

¹² See *Lives of the Saints*, Butler, vol. xiii. p. 205.

¹³ Drake, *passim*.

¹⁴ See *Walks through York*, Davies, p. 37.

years ago which converted "Severus Hoe" into a reservoir for the water supply of the city. Most probably the funeral pyre was there erected, and hence the tradition; but whether the imperial ashes were carried to Rome, or repose in York, is not known.

We must now pass over a long series of years. We cannot pause even at an event of such importance as the baptism of King Edwin (A.D. 627) in the wooden church of St. Peter at York, the capital of Deira, standing within the old Roman *enceinte* hard by the ancient Domus Palatina, probably at this time the residence of the Saxon King. Nor must the "square church of stone encompassing the former oratory,"¹⁵ erected by the great apostle and bishop, Paulinus, detain us. Despite many a siege by Dane and Northman, York flourished and grew beyond its ancient limits. In the time of St. Edward the Confessor the Cathedral was an imposing pile, more than half the size of the Minster as we see it in our day,¹⁶ and Siward his lieutenant, when he died within the walls of York (A.D. 1055) was buried in the cloister of a monastery which he had founded in the city. Fire over and over again ravaged the city, wood forming most probably the usual material for construction. The great library attached to the Cathedral perished in 1069, with the store of precious volumes of which Alcuin wrote, and which Archbishop Egbert collected. If Hardyng, an historian of the time of Henry the Fifth,¹⁷ is to be credited, the "Cyte of York, Canterbury, and diverse othere in Englande, passed London for buylding in those dayes," that is before the Conquest; and Higden says,¹⁸ "that York seemed as fair as the city of Rome before it was burnt by William the Conqueror." But if the Normans destroyed with one hand, they founded and built with the other. Rufus himself laid the first stone of the great Abbey of St. Mary (1089), and founded the Priory of the Holy Trinity; Stephen rebuilt from its ashes the Hospital of St. Leonard, which William had founded, after the terrible fire of 1137, when the Cathedral, St. Mary's Abbey, St. Leonard's Hospital, Holy Trinity Priory, and no less than thirty-nine parish churches suffered more or less. This calamity coming so close upon the harrying of the North by the Conqueror, left York long time in a state of misery and ruin. But the energy of its citizens

¹⁵ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, chap. xiv.

¹⁶ *Arch. History of York Minster*, by Professor Willis. ¹⁷ *Cit. Drake*, p. 147, vol. i.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

was not of a quality to suffer a long period of depression. As the two Scottish poets, Alexander Necham and Johnson of Aberdeen, sing in quaint verse, as Englished by Drake.¹⁹

There happy Ebrauk's lofty towers appear,
Who owe their mitre to St. Peter's care.
How oft in dust the hapless town hath lain?
How oft its walls have chang'd? how oft its men?

The Picts, the Scots, the Danes, and Normans, here
Discharged the loudest thunders of the war.
But this has ceas'd, and every storm o'erblown,
A happier gale refresh'd the rising town.
Let London still the just precedence claim,
York ever shall be proud to be the next in fame.

So the old city arose from out the dust. The first parliament that sat within its walls was in 1160, in the reign of Henry the Second. Splendid festivals were held there in the reign of Henry the Third, and under Edward the First the courts of King's Bench and Exchequer sat at York. Again, whilst Edward the Third was King, York rang with the sounds of regal hospitality and martial revelry on the occasion of two thousand of the flower of Flemish chivalry joining the English forces to march against the Scots. Let us choose the close of this splendid reign for our attempt to give our readers the second portion of our sketch, a bird's-eye view of mediæval York.²⁰

We will start from the western door of St. Peter's Minster, on which the sculptors are at work. The two western towers are growing up, and arrangements for the building of the central tower are begun. The glorious nave is all bright and beautiful in the freshness of its recent completion, and the pure white stone glitters in the bright sunshine, undimmed by coal smoke.²¹ Innumerable workmen swarm like bees about the sacred pile. Here masons are engaged on the elaborate stonework of the great western buttresses, there glaziers are completing the fitting in of the stained glass of the nave, and gilders are busy overlaying the carved bosses of the oak vault of the nave with bright gold. Piles of massive timber beams, and stores of lead

¹⁹ Cit. Drake, p. 150, vol. i.

²⁰ We must ask leave to indulge in some slight anachronisms in this portion of our work, practically the description we have attempted would embrace a portion of the early fifteenth century.

²¹ In 1445, William Stanes paid 4d. as a fine for the privilege of selling sea-coal *pro venditione carbonum maritimorum* (*Walks through York*, p. 206).

and iron, for the construction of the "new bell-tower," cumber the ground, whilst stout wains drawn by yokes of oxen bring upon the site fresh supplies of the fine limestones from the quarries at Huddlestone and Bramham Moor, contributed by the Vavasour whose statue is being erected above the western door.²² Through the southern transept door throng in and out the faithful who have been paying their devotions to the relics of the holy patron of York, the great Archbishop St. William, in his feretory behind the high altar. There in a costly shrine lie his relics, with his head in a separate reliquary, glorious in precious metals and gems, exquisite in cunning workmanship, and surrounded by the most costly offerings,²³ whilst wax lights innumerable burn perpetually before the shrine. But the clock over the altar of St. Blaise²⁴ warns us not to delay, and we must leave the glorious church to proceed upon our wandering through old York. Passing the gloomy Peter's prison at the western end of the cathedral, we catch a glimpse of the *Domus domorum*—the Chapter House—its tall roof grouping with the palace of the Archbishop opposite to the northern transept of the Minster. Leaving the Close by the massive gateway, we go down Petergate to Bootham Bar (close to which is the site of the old Roman gate), and we come almost at once on the entrance to the walled inclosure of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary. To our right, dotted about beyond the walls amidst pleasant meadows and orchards, we catch sight, along Gilesgate (Gillygate) of the Church of St. Giles, and further away of the three hospitals of St. Mary of Bootham, with the Chapel of St. Anne, of our Lady, and of St. Nicholas. We will enter the great inclosure of St. Mary's Abbey. The vast cruciform church is hardly inferior to the Minster in dignity and splendour. Here stretch the vaulted cloisters, there the noble refectory,²⁵ through an exquisitely sculptured doorway we pass into the triple nave of the Chapter House, paved with the gravestones of departed Abbots. Down by the riverside is the Guest House, and the stony girdle of walls, with its towers and

²² See Browne's *History of York Minster*; Professor Willis on York Cathedral, *passim*; Murray's *Yorkshire*, p. 56.

²³ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 169.

²⁴ Willis, *Archeological History of York Minster*, p. 49. "Altare St. Blasii sub horologio."

²⁵ The splendid remains of these monastic buildings were excavated, exposed to the light of day, and again buried, when the gloomy and funereal structure of the York Museum was erected over them some sixty or seventy years ago.

gateway, runs down to the Ouse, which flows placidly beneath the south-western battlements. Leaving the precincts of the abbey by a southern postern hard by the Roman tower and vallum,²⁶ we come upon the ancient and noble foundation of St. Leonard's Hospital, due to the good Saxon monarch, Athelstan, and later to the gifts of Kings Henry, Stephen, and John. We can but stop to visit the four-aisled and vaulted *calefactory* on the ground floor, and ascend to the graceful chapel raised on an upper story. The Master would fain show us the cloisters, with their "carols" for study, the refectory, and the dormitory. We learn that thirteen brethren, four secular priests, eight sisters, thirty choristers, twenty-six beadsmen, besides schoolmasters and servitors, occupy the house, which has many fair acres, the pious gifts of kings, noblemen, and others, and a great inclosure adjoining the grounds of St. Mary's Abbey, and running down to the river.²⁷ We leave the hospital by the arched gateway giving access to St. Leonard's Landing²⁸ (Lendal), and hailing a boat at the foot of the lofty tower called after that saint, and which here terminates the city wall, row out with the stream. From the tower which we are just leaving to the opposite bastion on the southern bank which is called Barker's Tower, or North Street Postern, as it protects one of the smaller gates of the city walls, a great iron chain is drawn across the river to close the entrance of the city by this "liquid way." In either tower, as our boatman tells us, a custodian of this chain keeps watch and ward, and he himself pays forty shillings per annum for the privilege of ferrying passengers across the river.²⁹ Immediately to our left rises the Monastery of the Augustinian Friars, of very ancient foundation. We can see the church and group of conventual buildings above the river wall, with its massive buttresses and water-gate, which beginning at St. Leonard's Hill, runs on to the Gild Hall of St. Christopher and St. George. Away down the river the tall central arch of Ouse Bridge, said to be one of the largest in Christendom, with its four smaller arches, spans the stream. Grouped upon the bridge are the Chapel of St. William, the great Council Chamber of the city, and other build-

²⁶ See *ante*.

²⁷ Drake's *York*, vol. ii. p. 362, seq.

²⁸ "Apud St. Leonard Landyngs in aquâ de Use" (Davies' *Walks through York*, p. 44).

²⁹ Davies' *Walks through York*, p. 192. "Custodes catenarum extra aquam de Use de Sancto Leonardo usque Barker Tower."

ings;³⁰ and through the arches we catch a glimpse of the "staithes," or quays beyond, lined with shipping, and alive with busy citizens. We land on the southern bank, and mount the winding stone stairs to the parapet of the city walls. Let us turn and look back on the glorious prospect. St. Mary's Abbey to the left, the Austin Friars to the right, before us St. Leonard's Hospital, and beyond the parish church of St. Wilfrid, with its famous Chantry of our Blessed Lady—founded for the soul of Nicholas de Flemmyng, Mayor of York (1319), who fell in the battle of Myton,³¹ whilst towering up above and behind all, with the gabled houses of the citizens nestling at its feet, is the Minster in all its vastness and beauty. Truly a scene to bid us linger, but we have a long circuit yet to make, and must not tarry. Almost at once, on following the line of the ramparts, which have not long been partially rebuilt upon the ancient foundations, and which display all the newest features of military architecture,³² we find ourselves looking down, just within the walls, on a large walled inclosure, with a cluster of monastic buildings, out of which rises conspicuous the church. This is the Monastery of the Friars Preachers, and we can catch a passing glimpse of a black and white habit through the cloister opening. It owes its foundation to King Henry the Third, who granted the site, and the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene standing thereon, to the sons of St. Dominic.³³ Adjoining the southern wall of this monastery is a large open space called King's Toft, or Pageant Green, and had it been Corpus Christi day we should have had a singularly advantageous view from the city walls on which we stand of the sumptuous religious pageant held on that festival in York:³⁴ "A solemn procession in reverence to the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, beginning at the great gates of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, having assembled and

³⁰ See photograph in Third Series of *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 1877.

³¹ This Church of St. Wilfrid stood a little to the south of the existing Catholic church dedicated in honour of the same great saint, and upon the site of the Assembly Rooms.

³² The city walls of York display fragments of almost every age from the end of the eleventh or commencement of the twelfth century down to the present day, much was done during the period of the Edwards. See *The Defences of York*, by G. T. Clarke, Esq.; *The Proceedings of the Archeological Institute*, York, 1846.

³³ See *supra*, site of Roman baths and former railway terminus. The only relic of this monastery is a decayed statue of our Lady built into a stable wall in Tanner Row hard by.

³⁴ See "On old Catholic Plays in York," the MONTH, vol. vi. N.S. 1875, p. 311.

drawn up on King's Toft, went to and into the Cathedral, and afterwards to the Hospital of St. Leonard, leaving the Blessed Sacrament there, preceded by a vast number of lighted torches, and a great multitude of priests in their proper habits, and followed by the Mayor and citizens, with a prodigious crowd of the populace attending."³⁵ So we pass on by bastion and tower, with the city always at our feet to the left, and the green country with dark woods on the horizon, the sleeping moat and sloping turf of the bailey to our right. Now and then we meet a group of archers on guard, gazing out across the distance through the embrasures, clad in buff jackets and steel bascinet and breastplates, their arbalets piled at hand. At last we come to the towering mass of Mickelhythe, or Micklegate "Bar"³⁶—the great port or gate on the south road. We enter through the low-browed door into the chamber where the massive portcullis is held up by chains and wheels, and gain the opposite parapet, to look back on the lofty turrets and advancing barbican of the "Bar." Upon the former the hideous spectacle of a human head and hands fixed upon spikes arrests our gaze for an instant.³⁷ But, with a prayer for the soul of the unhappy victim, we turn away to look out along the white road beyond the fortification that stretches south between pleasant fields and orchards. Just hard by are the Hospitals of St. Thomas of Canterbury,³⁸ and St. Catherine, and where the road rises to dip again we see the little Chapel of St. James, with its garth. Quite upon the horizon we catch sight of the gibbet of Tyburn on a slight hillock near to the low flat of Knavesmire.³⁹ Turning again towards the city, at our feet lies the great Priory of the Holy Trinity with its noble church and

³⁵ Order for the Corpus Christi Pageant and Play, by Barton, Mayor, 1426.

³⁶ The four great gates of the city are called bars; there are eight smaller gates, or posterns, and two modern openings in the ancient walls.

³⁷ Andrew Hurcla, and De Spencer, both executed in the reign of Edward the Second, had their divided quarters exposed on Mickelgate Bar, so also Thomas Lord Seroope, temp. Henry the Fifth, and in 1460 the head of the Duke of York—"When York did overlook the town of York." See *Walks through York*, p. 117; *The Defences of York*, p. 34.

³⁸ This hospital, opposite to the well-known Convent of St. Mary, was only pulled down in 1862; the chapel which Gent describes as containing a stained glass picture of St. Thomas and a stone statue of our Lady, had previously been destroyed.

³⁹ This was the spot upon which so many glorious martyrs for the faith suffered at York. The writer recollects that many years ago it was proposed to erect a memorial to them on the site, which was ascertained with the aid of the learned antiquary, R. Davies, Esq., F.S.A., author of *Walks through the town of York*, but some opposition on "religious" grounds was made, and the pious project fell through.

lofty tower, its great gateway,⁴⁰ and its green and well-ordered gardens, in which we see the black-habited Fathers walking in silent meditation. This is the home of the sons of St. Benedict, an offshoot of the famous Abbey of Marmoutiers, in Touraine, and was founded by Ralph Paganel in the time of King William Rufus, in honour of Blessed Martin, and for his monks, to be in their possession for ever, for the souls' sake of his Lord King William and of his wife Matilda. Beyond the Priory walls we catch the view of many churches—All Saints, with its lofty spire, St. John's, St. Martin's the two churches of our Lady in Bishophill, the old tower of one said to have been built by Saxon hands, St. Gregory's, and ever pre-eminent above all, the great mother-church and Minster of St. Peter.

Still pursuing our way along the *chemin de ronde* of the city walls in a south-easterly direction, we come, at the extremity of the Benedictine inclosure, to a massive and gloomy structure inclosed within embattled walls and a moat of its own, standing partly on a lofty mound, with a portion of the buildings at its foot. This is what is known as the *Vetus Ballium*, or Old Bailey, as old as the days of Athelstane perchance, though reconstructed by William the Norman. In the days we are describing it is the Prison of the Archbishop's shire.⁴¹ We have now again reached the river. To our right is the postern of Skeldergate, or the Street of Cellars, for here are the warehouses and vaults which line the river's banks to receive the merchandize landed from the vessels crowding the stream. Just outside the postern we see the convent and its inclosure of the community of Benedictine Sisters founded 1130. It lies pleasantly in the country running down to the river bank, where the sisterhood have a quay of ashlar stone. The church, dedicated to St. Clement, serves the double purposes of a parochial and community church. Not far beyond the convent grounds, but on the opposite side, is the confluence of the Foss river with the Ouse. Just at this spot, and quite outside the city, we can see the distant group of the monastic buildings of St. Andrew belonging to the Gilbertine Fathers, founded in 1202. Beyond this point we lose the stream, as amidst low and wooded banks it flows onward, by the summer palace of the Archbishop of York at Bishophthorpe, to the sea. Standing

⁴⁰ This was swept away but a few years ago to make space for "city improvements," and a hideous Dissenting chape stands now upon its site.

⁴¹ *The Defences of York*, p. 28.

still for a while on the water-tower at the Skeldergate postern, let us take in another point of view, offering new objects of interest and picturesque effect of grouping and combination. Immediately opposite to us, and corresponding with the fortified mound of the Old Bailey at our left hand, rises the imposing mass of Clifford's Tower, reared on its lofty earthwork, whilst behind and running up to it are the walls of the citadel and castle of York. Beneath this frowning fortress, over which floats the banner of England, and where we catch the glint of armour between the battlements, rises on the river bank a new group of monastic buildings girt by its inclosure walls and with its church in its midst. This is the monastery of the Friars Minor or Franciscans, and the remarkable extent, and a certain character which speaks more of palatial than conventual architecture, as regards some portions of the building that tower over the walls with turrets and open parapets and dormers and lofty chimneys, is explained when we learn that it was the privilege of this house to be the residence of the monarchs of England on their visits to York. Opposite to us is an open space known as St. George's Close,⁴² where the citizens are recreating themselves by shooting at the butts with bows and arrows,

With hedes burnished full bryght
And every arrowe an elle longe,⁴³

whilst along the river banks the housewives are engaged bleaching their white linen upon the green sward. A little chapel, dedicated to the great patron of England, gives its name to this space, and a confraternity, "the Fellowship of St. George," is charged to have a care of it. Just beyond the chapel the Foss falls tumultuously over a wide weir, and here stand the water mills once the property of the Knights Templars. The bridge at this point, crowded with quaint houses and with the Chapel of St. Ann growing out of one of its piers,⁴⁴ leads up to the tall tower surmounting Fishergate postern, with its massive buttresses and tail peaked roof, and between this tower on one hand, and the bastions of the castle on the other, we can see across the basin here formed by the barred waters of the Foss, the churches of St. George⁴⁵ and All Hallows. These buildings

⁴² See the MONTH, "Old York," vol. viii. N.S. p. 181; 1876.

⁴³ *The Geste of Robyn Hode.*

⁴⁴ *Defences of York*, p. 27.

⁴⁵ The existing Catholic church of St. George stands a little to the N.E. of the site of the ancient and destroyed church of that Saint, the churchyard of which still exists.

lie before us, with many a more distant tower and spire, and many a gabled street, all lit up into bright light, or lying in masses of shade, with the green trees of St. George's Close and the gardens of the Fathers of St. Francis to soften and tone down the glare of the white fortress walls, the calm waters of the river slowly flowing at our feet, dotted here and there by gaily painted boats, whilst along the quays at the foot of the Franciscan house lie, with furled sails, the tall barques which have breasted the high seas, bringing the bales of merchandize now piled up on the "staiths." A busy, motley crowd enliven the scene,—the men in tight hose, short *côte-hardies*, and hanging hoods of red or green or gray, the women in many-coloured kirtles, long mantles, and strange head-gear.⁴⁶

Crossing the river once more from Hyngbrig or Skeldergate water-tower, whence a chain is carried across to the tower at the angle of the friar's inclosure, we will take a nearer view of the stern and venerable Clifford's tower, and press onwards to the Minster, where our pilgrimage must end as it began. We enter beneath Castlegate postern, where the moat filled from the Foss sweeps round the foot of the steep Ballium rising from its banks, and on which stand the citadel and outer castle wall, the smooth ashlar of its rounded bastions crowned by dark embrasures and tall peaked roofs. A long flight of fifty steps leads up to the portal of Clifford's Tower from a tall drawbridge thrown across the moat, and though a chapel crowns its entrance, we cannot forget how the blood-stain of the massacred Jews lies upon those walls. Up Castlegate, the street which leads to the chief gateway of the Castle, we see its stern and machiolated turrets, its drawbridge and portcullis, and then, passing the Church of St. Mary crowned by its tall octagon tower and spire, we catch glimpses of the shipping ranged along the King's staith⁴⁷ down the narrow water-lanes, the masts and cordage group, with the tall gables and corbelled stories which advance almost across these *venelle*, leaving but a narrow strip of sky above. As we proceed we notice the diverse trades⁴⁸ carried on in the low, dark shops opening to

⁴⁶ See *History of British Costume*, Planché *passim*.

⁴⁷ "Stath (staith) is a pure Anglo-Saxon word having the generic meaning of a brink or shore or margin" (*Walks through York*, p. 79).

⁴⁸ The names of trades cited are from the Register of Citizens of the city of York, from the first year of Edward the First to the close of the reign of Edward the Third, as quoted by R. Davies, Esq., in his paper, "On the Statistics of York in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," read before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1847.

the streets. The lower stories are built with massive stone arches, and they are carried over as they ascend on oaken beams and brackets, curiously sculptured with saints and grotesque beasts and many a carved cornice of foliage and flowers. The names and trades of the occupiers are inscribed on hanging sign-boards, setting forth the patron saint or the ensign of each trader in lively colours. There are hard by the river the fish-mongers and the salters, whilst butchers and bakers and pulvers offer supplies for daily food, with here a cheser and there a fruter. Now and then we come across the wide open door of a taverner, where the citizens go and come in search of entertainment, and here a malster or brewer's sign, whilst the butts of Gascoyne wine upon the quays do not allow any doubt as to the means of obtaining good cheer and generous drink from across the sea. We are now passing the end of Ousegate, and must pause a moment to look again on the busy scene. At the further extremity of the bridge we see the Chapel of St. William, which we noticed on our first passage of the river, ranges of shops on either hand line the bridge, and in the centre, on its highest point, stands a tall stone cross, which none pass without lowly reverence. The great council chamber of the city, a hospital (*Maison Dieu*) and the Kidcote or common gaol, are all suspended above the river in picturesque confusion. Ever passing and repassing are citizens in their coloured jerkins and hoods, with now and then a man-at-arms on horse or on foot, and now a Friar Preacher, a Carmelite, or a chantry priest, or, by contrast, one of the "Gay cotes graceless"—the thriftless gentry clad in embroidered silks and damask, set with innumerable golden buttons, fur, and feathers, and gold chains and long-toed shoon.

As we continue our way along Conynge Street—the *Via Regia*—and past the Churches of St. Michael and St. Martin, we remark the "shoppes" of mercers and taillours, hatters, hosiers, and glovers, pouch and patten-makers. Passing the open doorway of the hostelry of the Bull,⁴⁹ in Conynge Street, a tall figure steps out in a long purple robe, "furred well, as such a one ought to be," his ink-horn hangs at his girdle, and he gives his last injunctions to the host. He is the well-known physician, John Crespyn de Caumbray, who doubtless has been to see some traveller fallen sick. His name leads us to remark how many strange names from across the sea present themselves to us. Here are Laurentius de Florence, and Bouache of the

⁴⁹ "Unum hospitium vocatum le Bulle" (*Walks through York*, p. 70).

same far-off Italian city, both of them mounceours, under the Act of Parliament authorizing the minting of gold and silver at York. Amidst the numerous makers of the harness of men-at-arms, armourers, boughers, flechers or arrowsmiths, blade-smiths, &c., we find the following farbours from "Almagyne" or Germany, Christian de Devenssrode and Tydkynus van-the-rode. So among the orfevers or goldsmiths, within whose shops, as we loiter past, we catch the sheen and sparkle of many a cunning piece of metal work, we find a worker from Flanders, Michael de Neukirk. The websters and the tixtors (weavers and dyers) have amongst them Nicholas de Admarc de Brabant, Godfridus de Alenburgh, Thomas Braban de Malyns, and many others. So passing St. Christopher's Chapel and the Gild Hall gates at the end of Conynge Street, we turn at the angle of the inclosure of the Austin Friars into an irregular open space a portion of which is the garth of St. Helen's Church, which stands before us and is one of four of that dedication in the old city, in memory of the British Empress, sainted mother of a York Emperor. Before this church is an open place, where one of the Corpus Christi plays was always performed in the presence of the Lady Mayoress and the wives of the aldermen. The street which skirts the churchyard and lies before us, is known as Stonegate, as along it passed the stone landed at "Staynegate Landing" on the river, in a direct line to the Minister.⁵⁰ Between the tall overhanging gables of the houses, with many a carved bracket and barge board, we see the southern transept and the scaffolding of the central tower of the Cathedral against the blue sky. Stonegate is crossed by Petergate at its upper end, and by a narrow passage we gain the Low Minster gates opposite the southern transept door. Passing beneath this gateway, we once more stand under the shadow of the glorious Metropolitan Church of the Blessed Peter. Here our imaginary pilgrimage through mediæval York must end, with all its shortcomings and all its imperfections.

If we have not entirely exhausted the patience of our readers, we would sum up the number of churches, chapels, and religious houses existing in Catholic York, such as we have endeavoured to picture it in these pages, and as given in the register of the city *temp.* Henry the Fifth, quoted by Drake.⁵¹ There were in and out of the walls forty-five parish churches,

⁵⁰ *Walks through York*, p. 25.

⁵¹ *The History and Antiquities of York*, vol. ii. p. 164. Edit. 1735.

seventeen chapels, nine religious houses, and eighteen hospitals. Of these, twenty-one parish churches more or less intact, three chapels desecrated or in ruins, one monastery in ruins, and one fragment of a hospital remain to us to-day. That we may not allow our own personal feelings to give way to the expression of the keen regret and bitterness that such results are calculated to call forth, we will conclude with the judgment passed on this destruction and "reformation" by the learned historian Drake, of whose history of York we have made such constant use in the foregoing pages, and who assuredly cannot be counted as a "clerical," or as having even the slightest sympathy with the despised handful of "Papists" which in his day (1736) alone remained of the household of that faith which had built up Christian and Catholic York.

"Whoever considers the foregoing Catalogue (of the Churches, &c., in York before the 'Reformation'), must allow our City to have been as remarkable for Churches and Houses of Religion formerly as most in the Kingdom. It cannot be denied (that after the Dissolution of the Religious Houses here, as well as in other Places, by King Henry VIII., with the Chantries, Chapels, Hospitals, and other Houses for the Sustenance of the Poor) that this famous and then flourishing City did receive a terrible shock by the tearing up those Foundations; notwithstanding the politic Institution of the new Council⁶² erected for the Northern Parts, which was in some Measure designed to put a Stop to a Depopulation then really expected to be the Consequences of forty-two Parish Churches, three or four famous Abbeys, two Priors, a Nunnery, and a Religious College, with seventeen private Chapels, and eighteen Hospitals, which had reigned here in great Plenty and Abundance for some Ages, there was not so much left as to sustain and keep up little more than half the Number of Parish Churches, two or three of the Hospitals, and a Chapel or two at most. What an alteration was made in the Face of Things at York, may be guessed by the Number of fine Buildings which then lay in Ruin, but that was not the greatest Evil; for by turning out the Lazars, sick and old People out of Hospitals, Priests and Nuns out of Religious Houses, to starve or beg their Bread, the Number of poor and helpless Objects must have multiplied exceedingly in the City, and made their Case very deplorable." GEORGE GOLDIE

⁶² For some account of this "New Council," see the MONTH, vol. vi. "Old York," p. 423. It was composed of persecutors and hypocrites, and only to be compared to certain *conseils* of our own day.

Louvois and the French Army.

PART THE SECOND.

C'est le plus grand commis et le plus grand brutal qu'on puisse voir, is the pithy and by no means flattering description of Louvois left us by the Abbé Siri. Strictures of the kind we have here may be all very witty, but (like this of yours, Monsieur l'Abbé,) they are only too often remarkable rather for their spitefulness than their regard for truth. The reputation of Louvois stands, we need hardly observe, considerably higher than the character for methodical industry of a mere clerk, and is the outcome of something better, so far at least as we are concerned with him, than the savage disposition attributed to him by the venom of a Duke de Saint-Simon or the flippancy of a drawing-room Abbé. The attempt to depreciate the merit of the great Minister's services by the insinuation that he drew his inspiration elsewhere than from his own genius, and that the reforms he executed in the French army were prompted by some more vigorous and original mind, is flattery of the Grand Monarque too childish, gross, and palpable for sober history. Of the savagery with which the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was carried out against the French Protestants, for which Louvois is to a great extent responsible, we have already said that we offer no defence. But that in his dealings with the army, and herein lay the labour of his life, he was often cruel or even unduly severe, this we deny. No doubt the nature of the penalties themselves, sanctioned by the laws of the period for extreme cases, were needlessly severe and sometimes, as in the punishment of the Wheel, barbarously cruel; but until it is established that Louvois had recourse to them unnecessarily, or used them more frequently and wantonly than other public functionaries, his contemporaries, he will scarcely deserve to be stigmatized as the "savage" of his day. Brutal, in a more restricted and very much less offensive sense of the word, as conveying the idea of a certain measure of roughness and even

uncouthness of manner, in striking contrast with the courtliness of the Grand Seigneurs around him, Louvois may possibly have been. Ungainly in his movements and awkward in appearance from his excessive bulk, a man so downright in character and so much overwhelmed with hard work as he, must have had little leisure for the making of silken speeches, or, if leisure, no inclination to

Flatter and look fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy.

Anyhow, Louvois' frank bluff ways were preferable to the velvety politeness which hid Le Tellier's treacherous claws.

The truth is Louvois is indebted to his passion for reform for much of the mud with which his character has been so liberally bespattered. If all reformers have from the very nature of the case to make up their minds to unpopularity, Louvois had less reason than any to expect exemption from the general law. With his shrewd sense he must have reckoned the cost from the beginning and foreseen, that for a man of obscure origin to dare to set his face against disorders, by which a proud aristocracy had from time immemorial been the principal gainers, was the certain road to unpopularity and disrepute. That undeterred by considerations such as these he was content, in default of the good opinion of his contemporaries, to leave it to time to set his reputation straight with posterity, speaks volumes for the natural strength and nobleness of his character.

Moreover, Louvois was distinguished as a great administrator by an assemblage of qualities quite inconsistent with the coarse brutality or ferocity of character commonly ascribed to him by his enemies. To strong common sense, sound judgment, and intellect of a very high, if not of the highest order, he united an iron will and an energy of character which marked him out to be a leader of men. He was above all things essentially a practical man. Little addicted to theory he had an extraordinary knack, a wonderful ingenuity and fertility of resource for adapting to the solution of difficult problems ideas, not always original, but simple, precise, and sound as the axioms of geometry. There was nothing of the noisy, self-satisfied, overbearing innovator about him. Fussy unpractical dreamers, who came to obtrude their advice or their plans upon him, he received more than ungraciously; businesslike men of sense

were sure of a cordial welcome and a patient hearing. "No Minister," says a contemporary writer, "was ever more guarded in conversation. When any one spoke to him, Louvois always looked him full in the face, listened attentively, and carefully noted any indications of sense or genius in the remarks addressed to him; but whether approving or disapproving he maintained an invariable silence, reserving to himself the final decision for the right time and place." When once satisfied of a man's ability, he would encourage him to manifest his ideas with perfect freedom; he even courted contradiction to his own views. "So far," he writes to a person of this description, "from finding fault with you for freely communicating to me your views on all matters, or for even standing out against me on points on which, because of your greater opportunities of knowledge derived from actual presence on the spot, you judge that you can improve upon my suggestions, I can only reiterate the instructions I have already given you on this head and beg of you to continue, as heretofore, to speak out your mind." Reasons, not mere assertion, or pompous declamation, was what he wanted. "It is enough," he writes to Vauban, "if I point out defects and make known my doubts to you. You will be good enough to clear them up for me in language I can understand, for I cannot make shift, as the multitude does, with decisions unaccompanied by reasons to enlighten my ignorance."

A stranger to anything like contempt for the opinion of others, to intolerance of long established institutions, or indifference to the experiences of the past, notwithstanding that the past had bequeathed him a heavy legacy of abuses and disorders in the military system of his country, Louvois adopted whatever he thought good and useful wherever he found it, and from whatever quarter it might present itself. The very foundations of that system were unsound; but then they were the foundations of French society itself, and to meddle with them was to run the risk of having the house about one's ears. In dealing, therefore, with the gross venality pervading every branch of the service and lying, as we have seen, at the root of the mischief, a very great degree of caution was requisite. No one can for a moment doubt that only prudence, dictated by the gravest reasons, prevented Louvois from at once stamping out the evil with characteristic vigour and energy. The evil was precisely one of those chronic maladies which a wise physician may relieve, but forbears to

attack, because it can cease only with the life itself of his patient. None but fools or quacks are so far venturesome. A system so corrupt, as that of the French army in the seventeenth century, could only disappear entirely, as in fact it did in 1789, in the ruins of the social fabric. The restoration to the State of its exclusive rights of ownership over the army by the dispossession of proprietary officers was perhaps not an utterly impossible undertaking, but it was an enterprise bristling with difficulty and danger. The Sovereign, we imagine, would have been well within his right if, with a view to a new departure, he had decreed an absolute disbanding of the entire army, which was afterwards actually ordered in the case of a portion of it, viz., the cavalry. But the first moment of stupor and astonishment over, who can measure the resentment such a step would have been sure to arouse, the passions it would have kindled, the revolt it might have excited? What an irresistible temptation, too, for the jealousies of neighbouring States to profit by the temporary disorganization of their hated rival and to fall upon her in her now disarmed and helpless condition! If, on the other hand, in such a crisis the King undertook to indemnify those concerned, what an overwhelming burden for a treasury well-nigh exhausted by continual wars, and what endless squeezing of a people already enormously overtaxed, would not such a policy have involved! The business of the officers being henceforth limited to the discharge of duties purely military, they would have ceased, it is true, to be mere traffickers in men; but in that case, the State would have found itself under the necessity of substituting its own for private enterprise, the raising and maintenance of troops would have fallen to its charge, and consequently the war estimates would have been more than doubled. Clearly such measures of reform as these would have entailed an entire change in the system of taxation, the suppression of immemorial privileges, the remodelling of the social body from head to foot—in other words a revolution. Revolution, generally speaking, means no more than demolition; but in the great convulsions which were to come a century later, the demolition of the French army was followed by a thorough rebuilding of the entire military system.

Louvois, therefore, interfered with the purchase system we have described only so far as to suppress it altogether in the four companies of the King's Body-guard. But whilst he respected the right of ownership of their regiments and companies in the

officers, he forced these to fulfil their obligations. He kept such a close and strict watch over the trafficking still permitted to them, that from lucrative he rendered it ruinous to many and costly to all. "I have a poor devil of a cousin," Vauban writes to Louvois, "a lieutenant in the cavalry, an officer of considerable merit and of long-standing in the service, who would have got his captaincy ages ago, if he had only found out the secret of transforming bad soldiers into good ones, without ruin to himself." In the good old days before Louvois came upon the scene, Vauban's cousin would have had no occasion to trouble himself about making bad soldiers into good, but by means of *pas-se-volants*, by keeping back his men's pay, and by the sedulous practice of sundry other little tricks and devices then in general use, he would have contrived to pay his debts and put money in his purse. But under Louvois the old order of things gave way to a new. No doubt the poorer officers, such as Vauban's cousin, were the greatest sufferers. This was inevitable, and Louvois took good care to help out the more honourable and deserving by the bestowal of gratuities or pensions, or by their advancement to staff-appointments in the fortresses. Not unfrequently, when the means of an officer were inadequate to the proper maintenance of his company, Louvois placed him in a regiment commanded by a rich colonel, whom he obliged to give pecuniary assistance to his subordinate. Thus in writing to Le Tellier, he speaks of a regiment as being on the brink of ruin unless the King will consent to place at its head a man able to go to considerable expense, and he adds these words: "Although the Marquis de Nangis is not a man of any very wide experience, he has a yearly income of twenty thousand crowns. Perhaps his Majesty may be prevailed upon to enlist this man in the service by giving him a regiment of infantry."

Under such a system as this, money was of course the first requisite. A colonel needed to be a rich man before he could be in a position first to purchase and then to maintain his regiment. Wealth was therefore an essential, birth only an accidental qualification for a command in the army. If in the words we have just quoted Louvois appears to have put forward the rank of De Nangis as a recommendation, the fact that he recommends the Marquis for a regiment of foot and not of horse, is an unmistakable indication of his determination to combat, as he did combat at the cost of his own popularity, the

prejudices of the nobility against military service in *la pédaillie*, as they contemptuously styled the infantry. Louvois did his utmost to lessen the inequality existing between the two chief arms of the service, by recruiting the infantry as much as possible from the ranks of the nobility. Birth alone was not a sufficient recommendation for high military command in the eyes of a man who could not but consider himself one of the people. Bourgeois officers, on the contrary, were sure to find in him a powerful patron. He discovered and brought out their merits, and helped them on by every means in his power. But even if he took in hand the career of such men as Catinat, who lived to be a Marshal of France, it was essential they should be, if not positively wealthy, at least in easy circumstances. Here no doubt is one of the many reasons which helped to make Louvois hateful in the eyes of the aristocracy. The nobles seem never to have forgiven him his own plebeian origin, still less his leanings to the middle classes. Nevertheless, in justice to Louvois it ought not to be forgotten, that whilst doing much for the bourgeoisie he was by no means neglectful of the true interests of the nobility, which he brought to a right sense of its dignity by converting military service from a mere money-making transaction of the most disgraceful kind into an honourable profession. His success in this arduous undertaking is much enhanced by a consideration of the number, the rank, the power, and the unscrupulousness of the officers, whose ceaseless opposition he had to encounter. Those of them, indeed, who have left memoirs behind them have certainly not spared the character of Louvois, and their unanimity in condemning both himself and his measures of reform has won popular opinion over to their side. But let them say what they will, we can hardly doubt that the real secret of their resentment, the head and front of his offending in their eyes was Louvois' determination to implant in the French army the *military* virtues of order, discipline, and obedience, to which, as distinguished from the *warlike* qualities of endurance, dash, and bravery inherent in the Gaul, the French soldier is, by the showing of his own countrymen, not naturally prone.

We will now follow Louvois, in greater detail and step-by-step, through the principal reforms he made in the French army. The civil administrator of those days started with the company, the military official or tactician with the battalion or the squad-

ron, as the unit of army organization. A captain has, let us suppose, been furnished with a commission or warrant to raise a company. This, as we have seen, was equivalent to a contract between the captain and the King, by which the captain on his side bound himself to furnish a certain number of men clothed, armed, and ready in every respect for service in the field, whilst the King on his agreed to pay to the captain a premium or bounty for every soldier raised and duly passed as fit for service, together with the daily pay of the men, either wholly in money, or else partly in money and partly in supplies,—the cost of these last to be deducted from the pay. The captain at once set off, either personally or by his agents, in quest of volunteers. Enlistment was in principle voluntary; practically the recruiting of the army was effected by the unblushing knavery of the officers, who vied with one another in impositions on the credulity of simple, ignorant people. They allured men into the service by offers of a handsome bounty, which was either never paid at all, or, if paid, withdrawn again, when once it had served its purpose. They entered into a written engagement with the recruit to grant him his discharge at the end of a specified time, and then broke faith with him. Louis the Fourteenth was in such need of soldiers, when Louvois became Minister of War, that the latter could not afford to cancel past engagements made on the faith of disloyal promises, but he severely ordained that for the future, at the expiry of the stipulated term of service, a soldier should immediately obtain his discharge on production of the document in question. By a decree of October 28, 1666, the term of service was fixed at four years, at the end of which time a man might obtain his discharge, if his company was not actually campaigning, or re-enlist for a fresh term, and so on, as often as he pleased, until finally disabled by wounds, or rendered unfit for service by age and infirmity. Louvois naturally preferred tried soldiers to peasants fresh from the country, and men from twenty to thirty years of age to striplings and lads; but in cases of necessity he would put up even with these. "When boys of fifteen or sixteen years of age are well-made fellows," he writes to one of his lieutenants, "they may be retained in their companies, because in a few years they will be fitter for service than those who enter it at a more advanced age."

Having got his men together, the captain had to clothe them. We find no trace whatever, prior to the Peace of Nime-

guen in 1678-9, of any regulation fixing the cut or the colour of the men's clothes, but yet it seems quite certain that it was during the period which intervened between Louvois' accession to power and the Peace of Nimeguen that a military uniform of some kind crept gradually, and by the free action of the officers, into general use. In 1665, Louis the Fourteenth, a great stickler for etiquette and passionately fond of display, had started in favour of a few privileged noblemen, in attendance upon his person, the celebrated *justaucorps à brevet*, a distinction of dress almost as eagerly coveted as the ribands of the King's Orders. Originally nothing more than a civil uniform, intended for the adornment of Court officials, it was soon extended to the Body-guard of the Sovereign, the Gendarmes, and Light Horse of the royal military household, whom it distinguished from the rest of the army. The bulk of the army continued on for some years more in its motley attire. A uniform dress was first used by the foreign troops in the pay of France, such as the German regiments of Alsace, upon which, because of their exceptional privileges, Louvois was enabled to impose his will, as he could not in the case of bodies of men less favoured in point of equipment and pay. He contented himself, therefore, as late as the year 1672, with seeing that the soldier was respectably and sufficiently clad, and in particular that he was provided with strong boots, since we find an officer, d'Antichamp by name, arguing at this date with Louvois in favour of the introduction of a uniform, on the ground that a distinctive military dress would render desertion less common by making it more difficult. This was an argument calculated to impress the practical mind of Louvois, but he had more important reforms in hand, and could afford to leave the secondary question of dress to time. In fact, vanity and the love of show innate in a Frenchman at last brought about the change, which high-handed measures would probably not have effected nearly so effectually. The contrast between the shabby appearance of their own men and the smart turn-out of their foreign brethren in arms shamed the French officers, little by little, into following suit. First one colonel and then another adopted the practice, until a regimental uniform became a universally self-imposed obligation. Louvois had nothing to do but to look on and encourage a fashion, which could not but favour military discipline and foster the development of a soldierly spirit.

The freedom allowed in the matter of dress could not, of

course, be extended to the choice of the weapons of war. Here, on the contrary, all was rigid uniformity. The length of the sword and pike, the size, bore or calibre of the musket, everything down to the way of wearing the cross-belt, was fixed by regulation. And yet, on this question of armament, Louvois found a great diversity of opinion and a controversy raging in the army about the relative merits of the new fusil, or flint-lock, and the old musket, or match-lock, in which the inferior officers and the privates took the side of progress, by advocating the introduction of the more modern weapon, whilst the King and the superior officers stood out for the retention of the old musket. There were, indeed, great difficulties in the way of a change, however desirable in itself. The men had been trained and were used to the manipulation of the clumsy matchlock and long unwieldy pike, weapons which were the basis of the soldier's education, and of the art of war itself as then known and practised. A change of weapons, therefore, would, it was argued, entail for a time, at least, a complete disarmament of the bulk of the army. The fusil was admitted to be in every respect a better weapon than the musket; the problem was where to find a substitute for the pike, which, however heavy and unhandy, was the infantry's only weapon of defence against the attacks of cavalry. When once their pieces had been discharged, musketeers and fusiliers were alike dependent for protection on the pikemen of their companies. The pike was most unpopular with the men; its weight and length—it was fourteen feet long—wearied out and dispirited the stoutest and bravest men. But so indispensable was it judged, that to induce the men to carry it with a little less repugnance, the pay of the pikemen was raised a tenth throughout the army. The struggle between the advocates of the flint-lock and their opponents lasted for upwards of twenty-five years. In 1670 four fusiliers were allowed to a company. By degrees the partisans of the more modern weapon succeeded in obtaining an extension of the experiment to entire corps, and accordingly, picked bodies, such as the King's musketeers, gendarmes, and dragoons, were supplied with the new arm, until the formation, in 1671, of a special regiment of fusiliers. The vexed question was finally set at rest by Vauban's invention, in 1675, of the socketed bayonet. The bayonet in simple plug-form had been in partial use before this date, but for obvious reasons the soldiers preferred to charge sword in hand, the musket being meanwhile slung over the shoulder.

The officer has now enlisted, clothed, and armed his men. His next duty was to parade them for inspection before the King's Commissioner of War. If the company was approved, its captain received a premium or bounty of ten crowns for every foot, and fifty crowns for every horse soldier; thenceforth he was obliged to keep it up to its full strength and beat up fresh recruits to stop the gaps caused by sickness, death, and desertion. This inspection of the company was repeated every two months, and the pay lists were drawn up in accordance with the number and efficiency of the men present on parade. The pay of the soldier, which, as we have seen, was either not paid at all, or but very irregularly, often varied in different regiments, and even in different companies of the same regiment. Arrears of pay had therefore been a fruitful source of complaint and disorder. Louvois soon put a stop to this abuse by fixing the pay once for all, and by rigorously enforcing its regular payment. A foot soldier received five, a horse soldier fifteen, and a dragoon, who was half cavalry half infantry, eleven sous a day. In time of war, however, one sou *per diem* was deducted from the pay of a foot soldier, eight from that of a horse soldier, and five from that of a dragoon, to cover the expense of the bread and forage furnished by Government. The captain was bound to pay his men every ten days.

The pay of a captain, fixed at sixty-five livres a month in time of peace, rose to half as much again in time of war, if the campaign lasted forty-five days. He was besides allowed to deduct a sou a day from the pay of each of his men to help towards the repair of the shoes, clothes, arms, and general equipment of his company. If the company reached the full regulation number of fifty men, the captain received an extraordinary gratuity, equivalent to the pay of three privates, or of five if the company rose to the number of sixty men. Moreover, in those districts in which troops were quartered during the winter months, in addition to the obligation binding the individual inhabitants on whom the men were billeted to supply the latter with fire, light, and sleeping accommodation, they had also to band together for the payment of a further contribution of five livres to every company. Of this sum four livres eight sous went to the captain for the maintenance of his company; the balance belonged to the inferior officers. This contribution was necessarily much heavier in the districts where cavalry were quartered, since from two or three sous for a foot soldier it rose,

on an average, to ten for a horse soldier. Finally, when the King consented to contribute his share towards the expense of clothing and arming the troops, his royal bounty commonly took the shape, at the beginning or during the course of a campaign, of a stout pair of boots to every private. Of course royal favours and gratuities such as these fell to the lot of those officers only who had distinguished themselves in the ever watchful eyes of Louvois by their zeal in the service and by their uniform good conduct.

Thus, by securing regular and sufficient payment to all, and by the bestowal of extraordinary gratuities on those whose regularity marked them out for special favour, Louvois purchased the right and the power to hunt down long-standing abuses, and was in a position effectually to close the mouths of those who had hitherto alleged inadequacy of means as a reason for not keeping their companies up to the regulation standard. He had sufficient warrant now to bid his subordinates turn a deaf ear to grumblers, and could himself with a good grace remind both officers and men that they had never in their lives received fairer treatment, and constantly impress upon the former that the private soldier was intrusted to him for no other purpose than to be well kept and cared for.

Evil weeds, however, are not easily uprooted in a day, even from the most carefully cultivated field, as Louvois found by experience in his endeavours to eradicate the abuses ingrained in the French army. The remedies he applied to the evil were more or less severe and drastic, as the phase of the malady was more or less acute. That irrepressible gentleman, the fagot, or *passé-volant*, in particular, was constantly reappearing upon the scene. With him Louvois dealt unsparingly. The knave was no sooner caught than he was sent before a court-martial and summarily punished. In 1663 the delinquent was first soundly whipped and then paraded before the troops, a tablet hanging before and behind him, after the fashion of our modern sandwich-man, with the single word, *Passe-volant*, inscribed thereon in big letters, fore and aft. In 1665, to flogging was added the penalty of branding at the hands of the common hangman, who with a red-hot iron stamped the royal *fleur-de-lis* on the rogue's forehead and right cheek. In 1667, the crime was expiated by death. After the reforms of 1668, the punishment was again reduced to branding, to be further extended in 1676 to mutilation, the offender being condemned to the loss of the most

characteristic feature of the human face—his nose. If the informer was a private, he could immediately claim his discharge, together with a bounty of from two to three hundred livres, which were deducted from the pay of the offending captain. The latter was besides suspended from the exercise of his military duties for not less than a month, or even dismissed the service altogether.

It is plain that, however wisely framed, a law must depend upon those charged with enforcing its observance. Its agents in this case were the King's Commissioners of War, upon whose conduct, therefore, Louvois kept a very sharp eye, and whose transgressions he visited with unsparing severity. Woe betide any of these officials detected in collusion with the military officers. In 1671, Louvois, on a tour of inspection in Flanders, himself caught one of them—Aubert by name—in the act. The man had given the officers of a regiment two days' notice of his official visit. Having explained the facts in a letter to the King, Louvois concludes as follows: "I humbly entreat your Majesty to sanction, that roguery such as this go not unpunished, and to authorize me to make a striking example in the person of this scoundrel, with a view to securing for you greater fidelity from the rest—since by this means all who exercise similar functions will be taught not to flatter themselves, that robbery of your Majesty's purse entails no heavier punishment than dismissal from the service."

But if severe, Louvois was also just, and his justice was not of the blind sort, which knows not how to discriminate, or make allowances. On the contrary, he was not unfrequently the first to give a backslider the benefit of extenuating circumstances. The following may be cited as an example of his tact and judgment in this respect. On one occasion in 1676, whilst Louvois was inspecting a body of troops, a private stepped out from the ranks and gave him information of the presence of three *passee-volants* in a particular company, which he indicated. Louvois instantly suspended the captain, and together with a handsome gratuity granted the soldier his discharge. At the same time, he took care in laying the matter before the King, to put in the following plea for the offender: "Allow me," he writes to Louis, "to call your Majesty's attention to the fact that the officer in question has sixty-five men in his company, as fine a body of men as there is to be seen in your Majesty's service. I think that on this account some favour may be

shown him, and that if your Majesty will graciously cancel his suspension, and rest content with ordering him to pay the money I have advanced to the informer, a sufficient example will have been made, and your Majesty will not lose the services of an excellent officer."

But when the fault was inexcusable, when the officer mutinied, or, worse than all, when he even excited his abettors and accomplices in fraud to rebel against the law and its agents, then the severity of Louvois knew no mercy. In 1673 a sergeant of infantry had been granted his discharge by a certain Commissary de Joinville for information given concerning the presence of a *passee-volant* in the garrison of Belle-Ile, and M. de Logerie, the governor of the fortress, had had the temerity to place the informer under arrest. Apprised of the fact, Louvois writes to De Logerie to the following effect: "The King is very much surprised indeed to learn that you have so far forgotten yourself as to order the arrest of a sergeant to whom Commissary de Joinville had given his discharge for informing against a *passee-volant*, and that, instead of protecting the person of the said Commissary against the resentment of the officers under your command, you have been conspiring with these last to prevent the execution of his Majesty's orders. Let me tell you that your conduct deserves instant dismissal from the service and the severest punishment. In consideration, however, of your long services, his Majesty is content this once with reprimanding you, with depriving you of your salary for a month, and with warning you to behave yourself better for the future, for that if ever in your life you repeat the same offence, you will receive summary punishment and be made an example of to others."

Language stern as this addressed to an officer of high rank makes it evident that if Louvois expected much from his agents, he backed them up with all his power, whenever, as was only too often the case, they needed his support. At the same time he never permitted these functionaries to overstep the strict limits of their duties, which were of a purely civil nature, such as to take cognizance of and report on the strength and efficiency of the various regiments and garrisons, to see that the men were regularly paid, and to look to the clothing, feeding, and general equipment of the army. With the detail of military action they had no business whatever. "A Commissioner of War," Louvois writes to one of these gentlemen, who had been unduly fussy

and meddlesome, "must not lay claim to the exercise of anything like military command over the troops." The raw material, so to speak, out of which the soldier was made, and the conditions on which his existence depended, were to a great extent furnished by these officials, but the shaping of the raw material, the training and education of the soldier, were in other hands.

The military education of the soldier had, before Louvois' time, been practically left to chance, since it depended to a great extent on the caprice of his superior officers, and the men were ill or well trained, according to the measure of carelessness or zeal it pleased the former to display. An almost total absence of discipline was the natural consequence. Quite independently of any consideration for the true interests of the army, such a state of things was simply intolerable to a man with Louvois' love of order and regularity. Accordingly we find him very soon after his accession to office beginning his reforms on this important head by the creation of two new military offices, the duties of which were to be discharged by officers of rank, whom he appointed to be Chief Inspectors of infantry and cavalry respectively, and whom he invested with considerable powers. The difficulty was where to find men endowed with the requisite zeal, energy, and intelligence. In this Louvois was helped out by his own forethought. As early as 1662 a picked body of men, known as the King's Regiment, had been specially formed by him to be a model to the rest of the French infantry. All the officers of this corps were men of rank and wealth, with the single exception of its lieutenant-colonel, one Martinet, whose name has long since been adopted into our language to express the ideal of a strict disciplinarian. Martinet was one of those active, intelligent, and devoted officers, drawn from the middle classes, whom Louvois delighted to set up as an example of military virtue to the young noblemen of his day, who, though not less brave, were generally less amenable to discipline than their inferiors in social position. This was the man whom Louvois selected to be his associate in the honourable but arduous undertaking of purging the French infantry from its inveterate bad habits, and in the work of educating both officers and men over again.

The work of reform was begun immediately after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. We forbear to weary the reader with unnecessary particulars. Suffice it to say, that Martinet,

assisted by a body of sub-inspectors, was sent by Louvois on a tour of inspection to all the fortresses and garrison towns of the kingdom with the most minute instructions as to his duties, and with orders to report frequently and in detail to the Minister of War on the military stores collected in the magazines, the state of the fortifications, the strength and efficiency of the different corps, the spirit, drill, and discipline of officers and men, the quality and quantity of their food, and the condition of their clothes, arms, and general equipment. Louvois was able in a very short time to report to the following effect on the success of Martinet's work: "If all that I see between this date and that of my return home is in keeping with what I have already witnessed, the King will have every reason to be pleased, and he may rest assured that if the visits of M. Martinet are continued, in three months' time there will no longer be any difference discernible between the ordinary regiments of the Line and the King's own Regiment. Of the cavalry I refrain from saying more than this—that we must find another M. Martinet, to wake up the officers of this branch of the service, who at present are quite as sleepy as their brethren in the infantry have heretofore been." Such an officer Louvois was not long in finding in the person of the Chevalier de Fourilles, a man of rare ability and great firmness of character.

Of all the difficulties which beset the path of the Military Inspector, none was more arduous than the enforcement of discipline, subordination, and respect for authority in the ranks of the men, and more particularly amongst the officers. Then as now the French soldier, by the testimony of his own countrymen, was distinguished less for his obedience than for his high spirit. "He loves the roll of the drum,"—these are the words of Blondel—"the coquetry of uniform, the roar and tumult of battle are dear, but obedience is burdensome to him." In the eyes of the turbulent and lawless youth of a haughty aristocracy obedience meant dishonour, and startling examples were therefore unavoidable in order to break in refractory spirits. The uncompromising Louvois left them no loop-hole for escape. "Give all the officers in command of a corps," he writes to Martinet, "to understand that the King means them to establish an unquestioning obedience amongst their subalterns, and let them know that the first man reported to me for insubordination will be instantly cashiered." Those for whom such treatment had no terrors, or who, thinking to pose as martyrs of inde-

pendence, rather gloried in being dismissed the service, were subjected to penalties as humiliating as they were severe; they were locked up in the common gaol, or confined in the dungeon of a fortress. An officer could not with impunity throw up his commission in disgust or from pique. "His Majesty," Louvois writes on another occasion, "has no fancy for sulky or peevish people, and there is no shorter cut to ruin in the King's esteem than an attempt to compound with him." And again he writes of a discontented officer: "I think Montil much too sensible to insist upon his dismissal, because he must be aware that such a course is the straight road to the Bastille, the ordinary residence provided by the King for gentlemen who make applications of this description."

In spite of the fact that entrance into the King's service in the capacity of officer meant loss of liberty for an indefinite period, with little hope of ever recovering it except at the cost of wounds or sickness, nevertheless the youth of France flocked to the military standards in crowds. All, without exception, before they could take rank as officers, had to shoulder the musket and do duty as privates for a more or less protracted term of service. Cadets belonging to the very highest families were alone privileged to serve their apprenticeship of arms in the four companies of the Royal Body-guard, in the ranks of the Musketeers, or in the King's Regiment, whence they emerged at the end of two years with permission to purchase a company of infantry or cavalry. All other cadets were distributed in twos amongst the different regiments of the line, and waited for an opportunity of gaining their first step, which varied with circumstances. In time of war the King issued, in great numbers, commissions of lieutenant, ensign, and cornet, but the last two were cancelled on the conclusion of peace, so that in ordinary times a lieutenancy was the first step on the ladder of promotion. Louvois put a stop to the sale of the lower grades by the higher officers, and left them only the right of presentation to a commission—a right which was often little more than an empty honour, since promotion depended mainly on the reports and recommendation of the Military Inspectors, which did not always favour the person put forward by the regimental officer.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the rank of officer belonged to cadets, springing from noble families or from the ranks of the higher middle classes, to the absolute exclusion of the poor private. By a royal decree sergeants of infantry

and quarter-masters of cavalry ranked as officers, and on the score of their superior rank, they were not liable, as the private was, to summary punishment, but had the privilege, when charged with crime, of passing before a court-martial—a privilege, however, which had its drawbacks as well as its advantages. “Hanging,” Louvois writes, “is not enough for sergeants who desert; they must be broken on the wheel, since being officers, their guilt is greater than that of simple privates convicted of this crime.”

A sergeant could also win his promotion to the rank of lieutenant by superior bravery and intelligence in the field. In 1674, a sergeant, named Lafleur, belonging to the garrison of Grave, and enjoying the character of a very smart soldier, had been told off with twenty-one men of his regiment for skirmishing duty. He crept quietly up to the enemy's outposts, took a number of prisoners, and was making his way back to his own lines, when he was suddenly attacked by two hundred Hollanders from Bois-le-Duc. Lafleur found shelter for his men in a hut by the roadside, whence he kept up a sharp fire of musketry and hand-grenades on the enemy, killed or wounded thirty-four of them in half an hour, put the rest to flight, and made his way back in safety to Grave, with all his prisoners and the loss of only one killed and one wounded. To the Governor M. de Chamilly's earnest recommendation of this brave man for promotion, Louvois immediately returned the following answer: “The King sets a high value on the exploit of Sergeant Lafleur, and his Majesty commands that he be promoted to the first vacant lieutenancy in his regiment. You will in the meantime present him with a gratuity of five hundred livres.” Lafleur may have risen subsequently to the rank of captain, if his means were adequate to the purchase of a company.

Here was another way in which the purchase system told unfavourably, as many a poor but able and meritorious officer knew to his cost before its abolition in our own service. Only the wealthier captains could aspire to become colonels. The road to advancement would have been for ever barred to the rest if the King had not come to the relief of the more intelligent and deserving officers by the bestowal on them of lieutenant-colonelcies and majorities, commissions which were not open to sale. These two last-mentioned grades were not then, as they are now, intermediate steps in the military hierarchy between a captaincy and a colonelcy. The colonel

of a regiment was practically its first, the lieutenant-colonel its second captain, each with his separate company. Among the remaining captains, he who bore the name of major gave up his company for the time being in order to devote himself to duties of a more general character, corresponding very much to those of our modern adjutant. The major of our times had no existence in the French army of the seventeenth century. When a regiment consisted of several battalions or squadrons, the first was under the direct command of the colonel, the second under that of the lieutenant-colonel, the third under that of the senior captain, and so on with the rest, if there were more than three battalions in the regiment.

But the work of reform is not limited to the removal of abuses, and the temporary establishment of a better order of things in their place. A really great reformer must be prepared for much opposition, and take all possible precaution to make his reforms as lasting as they are thorough. Louvois was in these two respects a model reformer. He had no doubt foreseen, and was certainly not afraid of the consequences of his acts. His reforms in the army had made him many enemies, whose clamourings, for a long time drowned in the din of battle, at last found vent after the Peace of Nimeguen in numberless lampoons, which scandalized the Court, astonished the provinces, and delighted the enemies of France, by the violence of their attacks on the character and work of Louvois. The latter, so far from pretending not to hear, listened calmly and attentively to the revilings of his detractors, and met their charges with the fearlessness of a *mens conscia recti*. So far from contenting himself with standing on the defensive, he boldly attacked his opponents in a masterly manifesto to the army, which, much too lengthy for quotation in its integrity here, and which abridgment would spoil, is at once a complete refutation of the fallacious reasoning and false statements of his assailants, and a merciless exposure of those officers who had so long sought to reap all the advantages without bearing any of the responsibility of their position in the army, whose unbridled license, profligate lives, shameless ill-treatment of their inferiors, barefaced disrespect for authority, gross frauds on the public exchequer, and worthless conduct generally, had heaped disgrace upon the French arms, and who because they were, as they deserved to be, the only real sufferers by Louvois' judicious reforms, naturally sought to excite popular feeling against them

and their hateful author, in the hope of getting rid of both. At the same time this remarkable document contained a powerful appeal to all right-minded officers to stand with him on the side of order, reminding them, as it did, that from discreditable and costly, his reforms had made the profession of arms the most honourable, and not the least lucrative career, inasmuch as there was no line of life in which a gentleman could hope to make his fortune more rapidly and no rank however exalted, not excepting that of a Marshal of France, to which an officer of merit might not reasonably aspire. What is required to secure the performance of reforms such as those on which Louvois was engaged for thirty out of the fifty years of his active life, is not so much a multiplicity of regulations as the dogged enforcement of a few laws judiciously framed. The facts we have been able to cull from M. Rousset's work are evidence, we think, that what Louvois said he meant, and what he meant he lacked no energy in enforcing. We will conclude this part of our subject with one more example to illustrate his conduct in this respect. Louvois, as we have seen, brought a minute and incessant watchfulness to bear on every detail of the service. Not the least of his solitudes was the condition and treatment of the private soldier. There is comfort in the knowledge that the poor fellow was certain of obtaining redress when once his grievances had been brought to the knowledge of Louvois, who was always indefatigable and generally successful in his efforts to get at the truth. At one time it is a private, who complains that his very bread has been taken from him to feed the dogs of his captain. Louvois throws the captain into prison, takes from him a month's pay to give it to the injured private, and grants the latter his discharge. At another time it is the ever-recurring complaint from the men of the illegal retention of their pay, with all its deplorable consequences of insubordination, revolt, and desertion. The following is a striking instance of cruel injustice reported to Louvois. A private belonging to the garrison of Friburg, then under the command of M. Dufay, the gallant defender of Philipsburg, seems to have lodged an accusation against certain officers of having withheld a portion of his pay. Dufay, instead of himself looking into the case, assumed that the man was only a mutinous fellow, and handed him over to be dealt with by the inferior officers, themselves interested parties. These last condemned the poor wretch with-

out a hearing, and had him shot. This happened on the 1st of November, 1683. On the 9th, Louvois writes as follows to Dufay: "The King has learnt with extreme surprise the fate of the soldier lately shot at Friburg. Nothing but the recollection of your long services and glorious exploits at Philisburg, has prevented his Majesty from depriving you of your office and putting you in prison." After a recapitulation of the King's decrees relative to the crime of keeping back the pay of the private, Louvois resumes: "The soldiers have a perfect right to apply to you for the execution of the King's decrees, and such applications cannot, without manifest injustice, be imputed to them as a crime. His Majesty considers the condemnation without a hearing, and the shooting of the soldier in question, as downright murder. He is quite aware that soldiers must not be allowed to mutiny, and that there are occasions when, in order to keep them to their duty, it may be necessary to kill a man on the spot, or have him executed out of hand. But there was nothing in the occurrences of the 1st of November to call for such vigorous measures, and it was clearly your bounden duty to have punished the officers, who in defiance of the King's known wishes and express commands, withheld from the soldiers a part of their pay. I am sending M. de la Chétardie the necessary orders for the suspension of the officers who took part in the court-martial, and for the imprisonment of those commanders who have permitted the withholding of money which, by the King's commands, ought to have been paid to the soldiers. His Majesty further ordains, that M. de la Grange repair immediately to Friburg to make, in the royal presence, full restitution of all the money kept back from the men since the 1st of July last; and, as a lesson to Commissary Saint-Germain for winking at such malversations, the King commands that he be sent a close prisoner to Lanscroon, and forbids me ever to employ him again. I regret to be obliged, in fulfilment of his Majesty's express wishes, to write to you in such harsh terms." The Abbé Siri and M. de Saint-Simon himself will hardly deny that, in this instance at least, the "brutal" Louvois is not quite true to his character for ferocity. For our part, we could have forgiven him if, instead of breaking deserters on the wheel, he had subjected the officers, who first fleeced and then murdered their men, to that barbarous treatment. The letter we have just quoted, by no means the only one of its kind,

does infinite credit to Louvois, and strengthens the regret which grows with our increased knowledge of the man, that such indisputably great ability had not a wider field than the reformation of an army, and was not devoted entirely to the higher and nobler task of improving the condition of millions of his fellow-countrymen, the lower orders and the poor peasantry of France, pressed to the ground by unjust taxation to minister to a civilization superficially brilliant, but rotten to the core.

their infinite credit to I know not, and strengthen the respect which grows with our increased knowledge of the man, that such indistinctly great ability had not a wider field than the reformation of our army, and was not devoted entirely to the higher and nobler task of improving the condition of millions of his fellow-creatures, the poor and the poor peasantry of England, and the poor of the world, to minister to a civilization superficially brilliant but rotten to the core.

The False Decretals.

THE False Decretals are an invaluable treasure to Protestant controversialists. So few even among Catholics have any clear and definite knowledge respecting them, that they are generally a safe weapon for the Anglican to employ when, fired with just indignation at the exorbitant pretensions of Rome, he vindicates for himself and his fellow-religionists the liberty of self-will. They are an excellent scarecrow to set up when those who search after the good seed of Truth draw near that mighty Tree which has room for all the birds of heaven amid its branches. They wondrously resemble, as used by the enemies of the Church, those mock figures in our cornfields which look so threatening and hold out their arms in menacing attitude to him who dares to draw nigh, and, like those figures, when we approach them boldly, and thrust at them with the staff of truth, they soon tumble to pieces and betray their true value. For what are the elements of which such Protestant scarecrows are composed? A few rotten old garments, borrowed from their Gallican neighbours, but discarded even by those more intelligent adversaries of Rome—a mask to hide their true character and to show that they are but acting a part—a scarlet rag to symbolize their hatred of the Church—with some covering for the head, reminding us of the long since worn out respectability of Anglicanism—and all stuffed with straw, to show what will be their destiny if any one should approach them with the light of honest investigation. Such are the materials which make up these bogies by which they seek to frighten us, and by which, alas! they too often scare away timid souls who are longing to be fed with the bread of life and to drink of that river of Truth which proceeds from the throne of God. It is then with no unwilling hand that we proceed to tear the mask from one—and perhaps the chief—of these miserable deceptions. We shall deal with it such as Dr. Littledale puts it forward, with a few fresh daubs on its false face, and

dressed up in clothes which he has borrowed from Janus' second-hand repository of deceit, and with the red rag of his hatred of Popery flaunted more unscrupulously than ever. We shall show that his statements are in this section more than usually imbued with the spirit of untruth, and that his ignorance of the subject of which he treats is only equalled by the audacity of his assertions about documents he has never read, and which we strongly suspect he has not even looked at.

We shall begin with a positive statement of the history of the False Decretals, the object of their author, the circumstances which gave rise to them, and the country to which they owe their origin. Our next step will be to sketch their use by Councils and Pontiffs, and their influence on the history of the Church, and especially on the development of the Papal power. And last of all we shall have a word in season for poor, ignorant, misinformed Dr. Littledale.

It is almost impossible to understand the drift of the False Decretals without some knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of the time. That they were produced in Western Gaul is now universally admitted—even Dr. Littledale allows it. It is, therefore, unnecessary for us to bring forward *seriatim* the various arguments by which both Protestant and Catholic writers have shown the fallacy of the arguments of Theiner and Eichhorn, who formerly attempted to prove that they were fabricated in Rome. But the reader will understand, as he reads on, why they must have been composed in the diocese of Rheims, or at all events by one intimately acquainted with its circumstances and history. We can go still further than this, and promise to furnish him with a clue which we are convinced will guide him to the right solution of the mystery which still clings to the False Decretals—the much disputed question as to who was the bold, unscrupulous, yet at the same time farsighted, able, and well-meaning author of a compilation of which the kindest thing that can be said is that the author's tortuous conscience intended it as a pious fraud, and that he was sadly forgetful of the warning of Holy Scripture to those who do evil that good may come.

The latter portion of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire was a time full of all sorts of miseries to the Empire of the Franks. The pious, well-meaning, but feeble Emperor lent too ready an ear to the foolish counsels of favourites. In 817 he portioned out his kingdom among his three sons, and associated the eldest,

Lothaire, in the Government. But the birth of a fourth son in 823 (afterwards Charles the Bald) led to a fresh partition of the Empire, and this caused great dissatisfaction among the elder brothers. Ten years later (A.D. 833) Lothaire took advantage of the disturbed state of the kingdom and the weakness of the Emperor's policy to accuse his father, before an assembly of bishops, abbots, and nobles, of various crimes against Church and State. The poor old King, broken down by the ingratitude of his children and the responsibilities of empire, and full of self-reproach because he had not succeeded in carrying out measures which his feeble will was insufficient to enforce, nor prevented crimes which were in fact beyond his control, humbly confessed with many tears the crimes laid against him; and was condemned to a lifelong penance and perpetual seclusion from the affairs of State in the Abbey of St. Médard. The official president of the assembly where this iniquitous proceeding took place was Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who as metropolitan of the province, acted as the spokesman of the assembled prelates and seigneurs, and pronounced the sentence against the King. The conduct of Ebbo was the more disloyal, as he had been Louis' foster-brother, and had by the royal influence been raised from being a peasant's son to a high position in the Empire, having been appointed soon after his ordination to be keeper of the royal archives of the province of Aquitaine, and subsequently (in 816) elected, with the universal acclamation of the clergy and people, to the archbishopric of Rheims. In this see he had shown himself a zealous reformer of abuses, and a devoted and exemplary bishop. Six years later, he was sent by the King to Denmark as royal ambassador and apostolic missionary, and there had great success in the conversion of the pagans. But the temptation to take the lead in a great political struggle proved too strong for him: doubtless he persuaded himself that he was acting in the best interests of the Church in getting rid even by such questionable means of a Prince whose weakness was unable to meet the various abuses which prevailed.

This cruel treatment of their monarch soon caused a reaction in favour of Louis, whose younger sons, disgusted with the arrogance of their eldest brother Lothaire, rose against him, restored the King to liberty, and drove Lothaire into exile, whither he was followed by most of the bishops who had sided with him. But the leader among them, Ebbo, was seized on

the way, and, after a short imprisonment, was compelled to read from the pulpit of the Church of St. Stephen, Metz, a retraction of his conduct and a public declaration that the proceeding against the unhappy King was unjust from beginning to end. But this was not sufficient to atone for what he had done. He was summoned before a synod at Thionville in 835, to be tried for his treason. Here he begged, for the honour of the Episcopate, that he might be tried before bishops and not before laymen. This request was granted: he was allowed to choose three bishops as his judges before whom he secretly confessed his ill-deeds, and he afterwards read before the assembly a humble acknowledgment of his guilt, in which he renounced his episcopate and declared his see vacant. He was accordingly deposed and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a monastery.

This act of deposition was by canon law null and void, for it was not only involuntary on the part of Ebbo, who adopted this as the best means of evading worse misfortunes, but it had no legal validity, as having been concluded without the Pope's consent. The omission was the more serious because Ebbo was not only metropolitan, but also Legate of the Holy See in Western France. He could therefore only be judged by a special delegacy appointed by the Pope: and he remained after his abdication and in spite of his own resignation *de jure* Archbishop of Rheims.

From 835 to 840 Ebbo spent in a sort of honourable imprisonment in various monasteries, at Fulda and elsewhere; but in 840 Louis died, and Ebbo, repairing at once to Lothaire at Worms, obtained from him his reinstallation in the see of Rheims. But some judicial form was considered necessary, and Lothaire summoned a council of twenty bishops, had him absolved, and restored him solemnly to his episcopate. He was received with triumph at Rheims; but two years later, his episcopal city having been apportioned to Charles the Bald, he was again compelled to flee, and after a visit to Rome, where he is said to have been coldly received by Pope Sergius, he was nominated by Louis of Germany to the see of Hildesheim, with the consent of the Pope and of the bishops of the province of Mayence, and there he remained from 842 until his death in 851.

From this sketch of Ebbo's life the reader may gather what must have been the condition of the diocese which he governed.

Rheims, like all the dioceses of Western France, was indeed in a miserable plight during the first half of the ninth century. The civil wars of France had been productive of many evils, of which not the least was the decay of ecclesiastical discipline. The Bishops, in spite of themselves, had been often almost compelled to take part in the struggle, and had done their best to allay the violence of party feeling and the rancour of political hatred. But though they were generally peacemakers, they were sometimes themselves swept away by the stream, and appear in the character of fierce partisans of one or other of the contending princes. Thus in a battle in 844 between Charles the Bald and Pepin the Second, two abbots are taken prisoners and two bishops slain upon the field of battle. Not that they were always to blame, for it was sometimes necessary for them to resort to arms unless their churches were to be spoiled and their domains handed over to laymen. But their appearance in the field of temporal warfare had one most miserable result. The precedence of the ecclesiastical over the secular power was necessarily lost sight of, and the princes and seigneurs of the time, ambitious, and unscrupulous in their ambition, rode rough-shod over bishops and archbishops, and were only checked at length by the firm attitude and steady resistance of the Holy See. But the lands and fiefs of local dignitaries they considered a fair prey, and the usurpation of ecclesiastical property was a crying evil, and was at length recognized as such by the Kings of the Frankish Empire. Thus the Council of Meaux, under Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, in 847—at which Ebbo, then Bishop of Hildesheim, would naturally have been present—was convened by order of Louis of Germany for the express purpose of meeting this growing evil. Lothaire had given away a portion of the land of the Abbey of Ferrières to one of his favourites. Loup, the abbot, who was afterwards Bishop of Chalons, successfully demanded its restoration from the King; but a short time afterwards the territory in which it was situate came into the power of Charles the Bald, who in his turn presented it to one of his seigneurs. We have extant several letters written by Loup on the subject, in which he depicts in pitiful terms the state of indigence and misery to which the Abbey of Ferrières had been reduced by these spoliations. "We ourselves are suffering cold and hunger," he says; "we have no means to feed the infirm, the sick, the children who beg for alms." The

Council of Meaux in 845 gives us another insight into the prevailing evils. Among its enactments is the establishment of provincial councils, to be held twice a year, which no temporal troubles are to be allowed to disturb. The King is to give full permission to these councils. He is to provide for the re-establishment of monasteries which have been usurped by laymen. Laymen who refuse to pay tithes are to be excommunicated. On the other hand, clerics are not to carry arms; monks are not to go to Court without the Bishop's leave; suffragan bishops (*chorepiscopi*) are not to usurp episcopal functions which the Bishop of the diocese reserves to himself: e.g., ordination, confirmation, &c. In a curious book, of which some fragments have come down to us, the *Liber Revelationum Audradi Modici Chorepiscopi*, the author describes Almighty God summoning before Him all the heads of the Churches of the Frankish Empire, and saying to them: "Tell Me, most loving brothers, whose fault is it that My heritage, redeemed with My own Blood, is ground down and laid waste?" Some of them answer at once: "O Lord, it is the fault of the (secular) princes." Lothaire is then rebuked for his pride, and Charles the Bald is warned of his impending fate by reason of the sufferings inflicted upon the Church. "Because thou didst not fear to deprive the Churches of their rightful position, and because through thee so great an evil afflicts My Church, thou wilt ere long be so disgraced by thy enemies that thou wilt scarce escape with thy life."

Vainly had the well-meaning Louis le Débonnaire convoked councils to redress the prevalent evils, to protect the clergy and their property. As early as 821 a council held at Thionville, at which Ebbo of Rheims and three other archbishops were present, passed certain decrees against those who outraged ecclesiastics (*contra percussores clericorum*). The occasion of the council was the insolence of certain princes, who did violence to the priests of God, and especially the disgraceful and unheard of murder of a Gascon bishop (*inhoneste et inaudite mordridatus*). Some of the enactments are amusing enough. Any one who knowingly killed a bishop was to eat no flesh and drink no wine all the days of his life, to lay aside the soldier's garb, and to remain for ever without hope of wedlock. We should have imagined that the murderer of a bishop would not have been reached by a punishment so easily evaded; but perhaps those who enacted the law knew the consciences of those with whom

they had to deal, and that the ruffian who laid violent hands on an ecclesiastic would shrink before the excommunication he would incur if he shirked the punishment. Besides, we must remember that the ecclesiastics often provoked the violence that they met with, and were as ready for the fray as any layman.

But this was not the end of the miseries of the Church of France. The continual civil wars left the country exposed to the ravages of the Northmen, who sailed up the Seine and the Loire, pillaging at their pleasure, and finding in the monasteries a comparatively easy prey. We find them penetrating as far as Paris in 851, and to Aix-la-Chapelle, Rouen, Nantes, and Blois. The armies which marched to meet those barbarians were as fatal to the countries through which they passed as the Northmen themselves, and abbots and bishops must perforce fortify and fight if they were to have any hope of security.

In such a disturbed state of things, one can easily imagine that ecclesiastical discipline became almost an impossibility. Life, property, everything was insecure, and the universal tendency of mankind to cultivate under such circumstances that charity which not only begins but ends at home, manifested itself throughout France, and especially in those western provinces which were, more than the rest of the country, exposed to the ravages of war. The clergy ceased to obey bishops who could not or would not help them. Bishops fought for Lothaire or Louis, and forgot their sacred character in their political partisanship. The laity, too, often saw in their bishops and clergy political opponents, not spiritual guides.

Such was the state of things when the volume of False Decretals appears upon the scene. They profess to be a collection of canons of councils, Papal decrees, and letters from the earliest times up to the time of St. Gregory. The writer declares his work to have been undertaken at the suggestion of numbers of bishops and other servants of God, its object being the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline and the enforcing of obedience on clergy and people. It consists of three parts :

1. Letters of the Roman Pontiffs from Clement to Melchisedes, sixty in number, and a letter of Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, to Pope Damasus, with the answer of Damasus. All of these were forged by the author of the Decretals, with the exception of two letters of Pope Clement, to which he has, however, made considerable additions.

2. The Councils from Nicæa to the second Council of Seville (819), nearly all of which are genuine.

3. The Decretals of the Popes from Silvester to Gregory the First (one or two of Gregory the Second being added), of which about forty were forged by the compiler, some six or seven are apocryphal documents belonging to former ages, while all the rest are genuine.

The False Decretals were composed between the years 845 and 857. They contain numerous quotations from the Council of Paris in 829, of Aix in 836, and of Meaux in 845. They are first quoted in the Council of Quiercy-sur-Oise in 857, where the synodal letter of the Council cites the spurious letters attributed in the False Decretals to Popes Anacletus, Urban, and Lucius. Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, quotes them in his work on the divorce of Lothaire (written about 862), and seven or eight years afterwards they again appear in the letters of his nephew, Hincmar of Laon; in each case the forged letters of the Popes being quoted apparently in all good faith as genuine.

All this fixes their date with absolute certainty. They cannot have been earlier than 845; they cannot have been later than 857. They are probably referred to in the statement made in the Council of Soissons in 853 by the clerics whom Ebbo had ordained during his occupancy of the see of Rheims, after his return in 840, but who had been subsequently deposed by Hincmar in the Council of Soissons. These clerics incorporate in their narrative almost verbatim two passages from spurious letters attributed to Popes Julius and Felix the First, and allude to them as *decreta sanctorum patrum*, but it is just possible that they may have taken them from another work, and therefore they do not fix with absolute certainty the date of the appearance of the Decretals. We may, however, safely say that they made their appearance about or a little after the year 850, a fact of no small importance in determining their authorship.

We need not linger long on the country which gave them birth. From end to end they proclaim their birthplace to have been Western France. Nay, more, it is as certain as anything can be from internal evidence that the diocese of Rheims was the particular district to which they owe their origin. Their language betrays their connection with France. The nobles are *seniores* (seigneurs) and *comites* (comtes); ambassadors are *missi* (envoyés). In the genuine part of the compilation, the

previously existing *Hispana* (or Spanish collection, attributed to St. Isidore of Seville), is supplemented by the *Hadriana* which had been sent some fifty years before to the Frankish bishops by Hadrian the First, and was regarded as of great authority in France, and by another collection now generally known as Quesnelliana, and which was probably compiled in France. The author's own forgeries are mainly from sources exclusively Frankish, *e.g.*, he draws from the Council of Aix in 816 and 836, of Paris in 829, of Meaux in 845, from the letters of St. Boniface of Mayence and of the Abbess Cargith, who could scarcely be known outside France.

That Rheims was their special province appears from the fact that the earliest recognition of them was in that diocese. They are cited (probably) by clerics of Rheims in 853, by the Synod of Quiercy in 857, by Hincmar of Rheims in 859. They are compiled by one who had continually before his mind the condition and circumstances of the Church of Rheims, by one who knew the details of its contemporary history, and who, above all, has ever in view the struggle between its Archbishop Ebbo and his various enemies, and who is determined to vindicate, so far as such a work can vindicate, the action of Ebbo from the beginning to the end of his career.

The only attempt to assign another home than Rheims to these Decretals alleges Mayence to have been the place where they were composed. There are certainly traces of a connection with Mayence. The frequent use of St. Boniface's letters points to this, while in another work generally supposed to be by the same author (*The Capitularia of Benedict the Levite*), and from which there are many quotations in the Decretals, the author states in the preface that he writes at the suggestion of Otgar, Archbishop of Mayence. But the evidence in favour of Rheims is not to be overthrown on such meagre and uncertain grounds, and, as we shall see presently, the author probably lived for a time in the province of Mayence, and so may have had access to its archives and intercourse with its Archbishop.

So far we have been treading on sure ground. Our next step lands us in the region of hypothesis, although we believe that the hypothesis we shall put forward has an amount of probability which approaches to moral certainty. Who was the author of the False Decretals? The question is a very interesting one, and deserves a careful and scientific treatment, and it is with reluctance that we shall have to dismiss it with a mere

cursory glance. But as it does not immediately affect the question we are discussing, or enter except indirectly into our answer to Dr. Littledale, we postpone to some future time the more detailed explanation of the reasons which have led us to our conclusion. We have already prepared the way for the expression of our opinion in the history we have given of the events of the time.

Every book bears stamped upon it at least the leading features of its author's character and some indication of his history. The False Decretals show plainly enough that he who compiled them was a bold, clever, industrious, enterprising, unscrupulous man. They show, moreover, that he was a cleric well acquainted with the affairs of the Frankish kingdom generally, and knowing intimately all the details of the Church at Rheims. They also point to his having been a bishop, and a bishop who had suffered from the violence of the secular arm, and had a wholesome dread of the interference of secular princes; a bishop, too, who was keenly conscious of the evils caused by the non-residence of bishops and the usurpation of their functions in their absence by the suffragans (*chorepiscopi*); a bishop who had had troublesome clerics to deal with; a bishop whose interests lay with the secular clergy and not with the monastic orders, since, in spite of the sufferings of the monks, not a word do his Decretals say about penalties incurred by the violation of monasteries; and last of all a bishop who had not always resided peacefully at his see, but had wandered at least for a time to other parts of the Empire, and spent some time in the province of Mayence, under Otgar its Archbishop;—in fine, the able, unscrupulous, energetic Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, the reformer of his diocese in early times, the political partisan in later years, the exile from his diocese at Fulda and elsewhere, who returned only to be again banished, and to die in 851 Bishop of Hildesheim, whither he had been transferred with the Pope's consent by the favour of Louis of Germany. That the compiler of the Decretals has Ebbo in view throughout his work is not denied even by those who refuse to recognize him as their author. The coincidence of the peculiar circumstances of Ebbo with the peculiar case contemplated by the author of the Decretals cannot have been a chance one. Thus Pope Felix reserves to a bishop who is separated from his diocese and confined elsewhere (*in detentione aliqua a suis ovibus sequestrato*) the revenues accruing during his absence.¹ This was exactly

¹ Felix I. ep. 10.

Ebbo's case. If reference were not made to him, why did the Decretals put into the mouth of the Pope a special and not a general case of imprisonment or banishment from a diocese? Pope Alexander declares a confession, even in writing, if made under pressure, to be null and void, in which it is impossible not to see a reference to Ebbo's confession and abdication in 836. The Synod of Antioch, among its genuine decrees, has one which forbids a bishop deposed by a synod to be restored except by a larger synod. This, however, would have been fatal to Ebbo's restitution in 840, to which we alluded above, for he was deposed by forty-three bishops, restored only by twenty. In the Decretals Pope Julius writes to the Bishops of Antioch in reference to this synodal decree: "You have said that Athanasius cannot be restored by a number of bishops smaller than the number of those who deposed him. It is not so. This is no rule of the orthodox Bishops of Holy Church, but of the Arians, and has been framed for the destruction of the orthodox Bishops."² And finally, the translation to Hildesheim, at a time when he claimed to be and really was *de jure* Archbishop of Rheims, which according to the canons was lawful only if the necessities of the Church required it (which was not true in Ebbo's case), is justified in the Decretals by a string of Pápal letters allowing of translation whenever a bishop should be removed from his see by motives of necessity or utility, and, above all, if he should be driven thence by violence, where the allusion to Ebbo's appointment to Hildesheim is undeniable.

It was therefore, without any doubt, either Ebbo himself or some one who had his interests very near at heart who was the forger of the Decretals. We can scarcely imagine that any one would be so deeply and intently wrapped up in all that concerned the Archbishop as to frame letter after letter simply to justify an individual action of his friend or patron. Besides, who was there who could have compiled them? Who had resided like Ebbo at Fulda, and afterwards at Hildesheim, both of them at no great distance from Mayence, the records of which were so valuable to the forger? Who else had the same thorough acquaintance with the evils and troubles of the diocese of Rheims as the energetic Archbishop? And, we may add, who had so smarted under the interference of laymen in ecclesiastical affairs? Who else would have ventured on so bold, so original, so thoroughgoing an imposture? We can fancy him in the comparative

² 174 Julius, c. 13.

retirement of his see of Hildesheim, with all the records he had collected before him, putting together, with a mixture of genuine desire to prevent hereafter the evils he had himself known by long and bitter experience, and of a half unconscious desire to justify himself in the eyes of the world, this volume of mingled truth and falsehood. And dishonest as it was, it is certainly a masterpiece; the mere fact that it so long was received unquestioned is the best proof of its author's genius. Inaccuracies there certainly are, and anachronisms; but in general how consistent are its statements, how correct the expositions of canon law put into the mouth of the early Popes. What a knowledge it shows of history, of councils, of the Church's laws, for one who lived in days when the slow process of transcription limited knowledge and made forgeries difficult of detection!

We say, then, that the authorship of these Decretals is in all probability to be ascribed to Ebbo. Hinschius, the learned editor of the Decretals, who is on most points a paramount authority respecting them, objects to the hypothesis that if Ebbo had been their author he would have brought them forward in his own defence. It seems to us that this is on the other hand a reason for ascribing them to him. We half suspect that he had no intention of their ever being published—at all events, they were not completed till after 847, when he had been for some years Bishop of Hildesheim and was an old man drawing near to the grave, and if he ever meant them to see the light, they did not do so till after his death in 851. It is impossible to look into his secret heart—it may be that they were but a *jeu d'esprit*, the occupation of that restless soul during hours of leisure at Hildesheim: meant to amuse his chaplains or his successor, and never intended to deceive the Christian world. It may have been and more probably was his wish that they should be published and accepted as genuine. The love of his old diocese and the desire to see a happier and better state of discipline among the clergy, made him forget the sacredness of truth and the folly of attempting to promote the cause of truth by means of falsehood and forgery—the remembrance of his wrongs stirred him to vindicate his actions by giving them the high sanction which he considered that they deserved—and if he attributed to Popes letters they never wrote, and to Councils decrees they never passed, at least he did but make them the mouthpieces of the Church's irrefragable laws and unalterable doctrine. Perhaps he remembered the

speeches which Thucydides and Livy put into the mouths of the heroes of Greece and Rome: why should not he too put into the mouths of the heroes of Catholicity words which they ought to have used, and might have used, and perhaps did use, although no record of them may remain?

We are not justifying the unscrupulous forger, we are simply putting forward the thoughts that may have passed through his mind. His long career of ambition had perhaps blinded him to that veneration for the majesty of truth which a political career too often tends to dim. All through his life he had been pushing, energetic, restless, anxious to take the lead, looking to the end in view rather than to the means. And as we often find, the retired politician became an author, and the characteristics of his political life are reflected in the writings of his old age.

We must leave this fascinating topic and omit various details of all kinds which confirm our view of the authorship. Our readers will, if they care to pursue the subject, find in the Decretals themselves, allusions without number, to the evils which had long prevailed in the diocese of Rheims and to the history of Ebbo's episcopate. They will find Ebbo's friends first putting them forward a year or two after his death, but in so cautious a way that it seems to indicate a lurking suspicion of their contents. They will find in the treatment of them by Hincmar, Ebbo's successor in the see of Rheims, an unwillingness to accept what came from so doubtful a source, though he does not seem to have suspected so bold a forgery. All this we must for the present pass by, because the point we have to deal with in particular is the acceptance of these Decretals by the Popes, and their influence in promoting the Papal power. In our description of them, we have purposely omitted to speak of their assertion of Papal claims, because their advocacy of the supremacy of the Holy See is to their author merely one of the means by which he saw that the prevalent evils were to be cured and a wholesome state of ecclesiastical discipline to be established. It was the means, not the end, and any one who asserts that it was the end or even one of the ends the author had in view, has, if he has studied the False Decretals at all, studied them with a very unintelligent appreciation of their contents.

But we must treat a little more at length this important question of the purpose of the compiler of these Decretals.

Some have considered that their object is mainly political, and that they were the work of a partisan of Lothaire, intended to support the cause of that prince against his father and to justify the Bishops who had ranged themselves on his side. Such a view, though it has an element of truth, can scarcely be seriously maintained. No one would have undertaken so elaborate a work for such an object as this, or put together a volume in which the greater part would be altogether irrelevant to his purpose. He would not have copied out formerly existing compilations which would not have in any way furthered his design, or filled his pages with ecclesiastical regulations and questions of doctrine and discipline which would have been entirely beside the mark. And apart from this, their date wars against this theory, for they appeared at a time when the struggle between Louis and his ungrateful children was a matter of the past.

Another view regards them as simply a pious fraud, an honest—or rather we should say a dishonest—attempt to restore ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of France, to heal the wounds which political disturbances had inflicted upon her, to give a higher sanction to the canons of local synods which the troubles of the times had rendered almost inoperative, and which had been openly set aside by the secular authorities. Hence we find the False Decretals putting these canons in the mouths of early Popes: adducing Councils and Papal letters without end in support of the liberties and independence of the clergy; enforcing obedience of the clergy to bishops; restricting the functions of suffragans, who had usurped to themselves rights they did not possess; upholding the jurisdiction of metropolitans in the bishops of their district and of primates over metropolitans; and last but not least asserting for all the right of an appeal to the Holy See against secular princes, bishops, archbishops, and synods, provincial or general. Other points on which stress is laid are the intimate union of a bishop with his flock, so that he ought not to be transferred elsewhere, except for some weighty reason, and the right of bishops to be judged by a synod of their own province, and not by a general synod of bishops collected here and there at the will of the King, from which justice could never be looked for, as the King could pack it at his pleasure with those whom he knew would be subservient to his will. How futile all the other measures would have been unless the right of appeal to Rome

had been insisted on, is evident from the fact that without it there was practically no hope of redress for an unfortunate bishop who had offended the King or his ecclesiastical superior. If he could not turn to Rome for aid, how was he to obtain justice? When all else failed and he was driven into exile by an unjust sentence, or by a packed tribunal, or by an interfering prince, one tribunal there was where he knew he would have a fair hearing—one prince who was superior to ambition or political animosity. Slow the process would be: there was no fear of hasty interference on the part of the Pope—it would be months, perhaps years, before sentence would be given; his opponents would be heard; a long correspondence would intervene; his patience would be sorely tried as he remained, still under a cloud, at the Roman Court waiting for the verdict. But he knew it would come at last; justice would be done; and Rome would not shrink from hurling her anathemas, if need be, against offending prince or prelate who refused obedience to her gentler voice. What a security this in those days of violence and wrong! how necessary in those times when there was war to the knife even between bishop and bishop, archbishop and archbishop, not to mention the continual encroachment of kings and seigneurs on the Church's rights!

This view of the purpose of the author of the False Decretals is in the main correct, but we must not leave out of sight the personal element that they contain. The advocate of the Church's privilege has his eye continually on Ebbo's wrongs; each disciplinary measure is guarded by some saving clause against any disparagement of Ebbo's conduct. If bishops are not to be lightly transferred, there is to be an exception if a bishop is driven from his see; if the canons of Antioch forbid the restoration of a bishop deposed by a synod, except by the action of a synod more numerous, the Holy See steps in and cancels the enactment as uncanonical. Hence our general conclusion, combining these two commonly accepted views, is that the False Decretals are intended to bring about a reform of ecclesiastical discipline in Western France, but that they have at the same time pointed allusions, conscious or unconscious, to him whom we cannot but regard as their author, Ebbo of Rheims, to his history, his sufferings, and his wrongs.

It is plain enough, then, that those Decretals were not the work of Rome or Rome's Bishop. It has been said, however, that even though it may be true that the Popes had nothing to

do with the fabrication of them, yet that they were glad enough to use them as soon as they discovered the good service that had been done to their cause.

"The False Decretals," says Dr. Littledale, "were eagerly seized on by Pope Nicolas the First, an ambitious and perfectly unscrupulous Pontiff (858—867), to aid in revolutionizing the Church, as he, in fact, largely succeeded in doing."³

We shall have a word to say to Dr. Littledale presently; we now are merely stating the facts respecting the Decretals, and it will be interesting to our readers to know how far they were employed by the Roman Pontiffs. The first Pope who could have had any knowledge of the Decretals was Leo the Fourth, who became Pope in 847. But there is not a trace in any of his letters or decrees that he had ever heard of their existence. He was succeeded by St. Nicolas the First, the "ambitious and perfectly unscrupulous Pontiff" of Dr. Littledale. At the very beginning of his pontificate, Loup, Abbot of Ferrières, whom we have mentioned above, writes to him quoting from the False Decretals a decree of Pope Melchiades, forbidding the deposition of a bishop without the consent of the Sovereign Pontiff, and asking for an authentic copy of the decree. St. Nicolas in his reply speaks of other matters contained in the letter of the Abbot, but of this decree, which would have been an undeniable confirmation of Papal privilege, not a word does he say.

Some time after this (861), Rothade, Bishop of Soissons, had been excommunicated for alleged disobedience to his metropolitan, Hincmar of Rheims. He thereupon appealed to Rome. The Bishops of the metropolitan province of Rheims held a second synod, deposed Rothade, and appointed another bishop in his place, and handed him over to be imprisoned in a monastery. Rothade appealed to Rome again, and the Pope thereupon sent for Rothade, called a Council (*Concilium Romanum V.*), and annulled the whole proceeding, threatening Hincmar with excommunication unless Rothade were at once restored. A correspondence took place between the Frankish Bishops and the Pope, in which the former urged that the decrees quoted by Rothade to support his appeal, and which were taken from the False Decretals, were not contained in the Hadriana, or collection of decrees sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne, and therefore were not binding. They did not attempt to deny the authenticity of the decrees; but accepting them as authentic,

³ *Plain Reasons*, p. 103.

they denied their supreme authority, and they laid down the false principle that whatever was not contained in their *Codex Hadrianus* was not binding on them, and had not the force of law in the Empire of the Franks. To this St. Nicolas answers that they were wrong in despising decrees of the Pontiffs because they were not found in the *Codex Canonum*. "God forbid," he says, "that any Catholic should refuse to embrace with honour due and the highest approval either decretals or any exposition of ecclesiastical discipline, provided always that the Holy Roman Church, keeping them from ancient times, has handed them down to us to be guarded, and lays them up in her archives and ancient memorials. Some of you have maintained that these decretals of former Pontiffs are not contained in the whole body of the canons, while those very men, when they see that they favour their designs, use them without distinction, and now only attack them as less generally received (*minus accepta*) in order to diminish the power of the Apostolic See and increase their own privileges. For we have some of their writings which are known to adduce not only the decrees of certain Roman Pontiffs, but even of those of early times. Besides, if they say that the decretals of early Popes are not to be received because they are not to be found in the *Codex Canonum* (or *Hadriana*), this would be a reason for not receiving any ordinance or writing of St. Gregory or of any other Pope before or after him." And St. Nicolas then goes on to quote from the genuine letters of St. Leo and Gelasius to prove the respect due to all decretals of the Holy See.⁴

Whether in all this the Pope alludes directly or indirectly to the False Decretals is a question very difficult to decide. It seems that Rothade had quoted them in his favour. The other Bishops had not rejected them as spurious. St. Nicolas abstains from saying a word in their favour, but perhaps alludes to them so far as this, that he twits the Bishops with playing fast and loose—using a document when it suited them, rejecting it as not of supreme authority when it ran counter to their wishes; but he expresses no sort of personal acceptance of the forged collection, and never makes any quotation from it, but only from those genuine letters which were, he says, actually stored up in the Roman archives.

This is clear enough from the difficulty made by the Bishops. Hincmar does not say, Yes, but those documents quoted by

⁴ Mansi, xv. 694, 695.

Rothade are a forgery, as he would have said if the question turned on their authenticity. Instead of this he says, "We allow that these Decretals are to be received with veneration (*venerabiliter suscipienda*), but we do not allow that they are necessarily to be received *and observed* (*recipienda et custodienda*), thus showing that in his mind the question turned simply on their weight of authority as Papal decrees. In fact, he himself uses these False Decretals over and over again in his quarrel with his nephew, Hincmar of Laon, and to exact submission from the Bishops under him.

St. Nicolas, then, not only acted wisely and prudently in the answer he sent to the Bishops, but he pursued the only course open to him under the circumstances. Rothade was in the right—right in his interpretation of canon law, right in the justice of his appeal, right in protesting against the way in which he had been treated. In his defence of himself he had adduced decretals heretofore unknown, but which he evidently regarded as undoubtedly genuine. They were unknown to the Pope; their doctrine was correct; they were not in the Roman archives; but the Bishop of Soissons quotes them with no hesitation, and his opponents do not deny their authenticity. What would Dr. Littledale have had the Pope do? Open an endless critical discussion about the value of the documents quoted? Refuse to listen to Rothade, because he illustrated true doctrine from questionable authorities? Instead of this, his reply to the Bishop amounts to this: You object to the authority of what you allow to be Papal Decretals, that they do not occur in your national summary of canon law. There you are wrong. There are plenty of Papal letters outside your codex. You ought to refuse no decretals, supposing always that they are to be found in our archives. But he purposely and pointedly says nothing about these particular decretals, does not quote them, does not approve them, does not recognize them, indirectly sets them aside, inasmuch as he never mentions them, and never from one end of his pontificate to the other makes the slightest use of them, or acknowledges their existence, though they had been quoted in letters addressed to him and copies of them had already been brought to Rome.

But at least we should have imagined that he would afterwards have made some use of these documents about which there seemed to be no doubt in the Catholic world. On the contrary, he writes again to Hincmar in 863, and mentions the Popes who are authorities on the method to be pursued in the trial

of bishops, but says not one word of the countless passages in the *False Decretals* which deal at length with this subject. He mentions the letters of no Pope before St. Siricius, whose letters are genuine, although five years before he had learned from Loup of Ferrières the existence of a decretal attributed to St. Melchiades, most favourable to the rights of the Holy See. But, more remarkable still, he quotes in various letters passages which are attributed by the *False Decretals* to early Popes, but in every case he attributes them, not to the Pope whose name they bear in the *False Decretals*, but to their real authors.

So far for St. Nicolas the First. The next Pope was Adrian the Second. He, it is true, in one passage borrows a passage from a decretal assigned by the forger to Pope Anterus, and gives it under the name of that Pope. The letter in which it occurs is a confirmation of the transfer of a bishop from the see of Tours to that of Nantes. It is no question of Papal authority being advanced or Papal claims established by those forgeries. It is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact of the French Bishops who asked for the authorization of the translation having cited this passage from Anterus in confirmation of their request, the Pope took it for granted that their citation was correct and inserted it in his reply. Or, more probably, he entrusted the drawing up of the letter to some Cardinal or Secretary, who had read and accepted the *Decretals*, and who introduced the passage as exactly suited to the case in point. No one who has any notion of the mass of business which continually surrounds the Pope can be so unreasonable as to expect him to write each letter with his own hand, or to verify every quotation. When it was read to him for his approval, he would naturally take the extract as correct on the authority of the compiler of the document; nor can any one brand him even with negligence for doing so. But with the exception of this one isolated passage, not a single extract from the *False Decretals* occurs in the letters or other documents issued by Adrian the Second. When he quotes from the decretals of former Popes, he invariably assigns the quotations to their true authors, never to those to whom they are attributed in the supposititious volume, although they occur word for word in it, with the authority of greater antiquity put forward in their behalf.

Adrian the Second was succeeded by John the Eighth, of whose voluminous correspondence we have more than three hundred and fifty letters still extant. In all these, not a trace of the *False Decretals*. Stephen the Sixth, who came next,

observes the same silence, save in one passage, where he alludes to a letter falsely attributed to St. Athanasius; but he builds no argument on it, and shows by the context that, even if he were aware of the contents of the Decretals, he did not regard them as worthy of credit. We need not carry on the matter through the next one hundred and fifty years. It is enough to say, that during all that period there is but one allusion to one of the unauthentic documents quoted in the Decretals. And even here it is probable that the document in question existed before the Decretals were compiled. All this is the more remarkable, because all this time the Decretals were known at Rome. They are quoted over and over again by authors who wrote at Rome during those two hundred years. John the Deacon, about 880, in a *Life of St. Gregory* which he dedicates to the then reigning Pontiff; Auxilius, in his defence of the ordinations of Pope Formosus; Luitprand, or the author who bears his name, writing about 950, all use them freely: and we cannot but wonder at the wisdom and prudence of the Holy See in rejecting documents in which there was so much tending to establish Papal authority. In fact, it was not until a French Bishop (St. Leo the Ninth) occupied the Chair of Peter that the False Decretals began to be regarded as genuine by the Papal Court, and to be quoted as authentic in the documents of the Holy See.

Another question still remains to be noticed. Gallicans and Protestants have maintained that these Decretals had a very marked influence on the discipline of the Church, that whether Popes used them or not, they were used by Papal partisans to promote Ultramontane encroachments. Not content with this general charge, Gallicans have, happily for truth, alleged certain definite questions on which they say that they have undeniably promoted Papal authority and set aside the traditions of the primitive Church.

Here we may remark, for the benefit of all those who find in these False Decretals a stumbling-block to their acceptance of Rome's supremacy, that nothing can be more at variance with all human experience than to suppose that a document which introduced a new system of government into the Church would have been accepted without a very careful examination of its authority by the faithful at large. Above all, in the Church of France, where there was a strong national and political spirit, there would have been great reluctance in admitting anything which enabled Rome to diminish the power of the

King or the independence of the Gallican Church. And what is the fact with respect to these Decretals? Not only did France receive them unhesitatingly, but she actually gave them birth. Their author was an ecclesiastic intimately acquainted with the affairs of the French Church, eager in her interests, most probably a French Bishop, the friend and favourite of the French King, in his youth the keeper of the Archives of Aquitaine, the reformer of his diocese, in later times the political partisan, whose tendency would have been to oppose Papal "aggression," and to push forward local claims. What more ridiculous than to suppose him inventing a system of government unknown before, and a centralization of authority in Rome to which Christendom was hitherto a stranger? And even supposing that his private interests had made him recklessly Ultramontane, what more ludicrous than to suppose that his inventions would have been received as they were without dispute, and would have been accepted as the law of the Church as soon as promulgated? Nay, more, what more fatal to the Gallican hypothesis respecting them than the fact that those who were slowest to acknowledge them, who displayed an unaccountable reluctance in admitting their authenticity, were those very Popes whose grasping ambition they are supposed to further and promote?

When we come to the definite points in which Gallicans assert power to have accrued from Rome from these Decretals, we find that historical facts do not in any way bear out their assertions. Not one of the three points which they allege is new in the history of the Church; each of them was recognized as the universal law binding on all the faithful before the Decretals were thought of. Thus they say that before the Decretals the necessity of Papal sanction to the validity of provincial synods was never recognized: a statement which is directly contradicted by the history of the Council of Chalcedon, where the charge against Dioscorus was that he had dared to hold a synod without the authority of the Apostolic See, and by a passage in Socrates in which he states positively that it is a law of the Church to declare invalid everything done in a synod contrary to the wish of the Bishop of Rome.⁵ They say again that the right of appeal on the part of Bishops to the Holy See was introduced by the Decretals. Here too they are equally mistaken. The Council of Sardica, 347, distinctly sanctions such appeal, and when an appeal has been made

⁵ Socr. iii. 17; Sozom. iii. 10.

forbids the appointment of a successor to the see till Rome has heard the case. Innocent the First, in a letter written in 404 to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, insists that all *causæ majores* shall, after the Bishops have passed sentence, be carried to Rome before such judgment is valid, and other Popes repeat the same enactment. And lastly, they say that the author of the Decretals first invented the doctrine that the Holy See is subject to no human tribunal. This doctrine, which, by the way, is only implicitly contained in the Decretals, appears in documents long anterior to the ninth century, and is, indeed, a necessary consequence of that supremacy which was recognized from the first. Gelasius, in his instructions to his Legate Faustus, states it clearly enough. The Acts of the Second Roman Council, which, even if they are not genuine, are far more ancient than the Decretals, insert it among their decrees. In fact there is not a single prerogative or privilege of Rome asserted in the False Decretals which was not generally recognized as the common law of the Christian Church. They changed nothing, altered nothing, added nothing: at most they only put into convenient shape what was before less easy of access, and so helped to popularize a doctrine which was sometimes forgotten by local prelates, and to keep before their minds that dependence on the Holy See which is the central doctrine of Catholic ecclesiastical discipline.

We now turn for a few moments to poor, ignorant Dr. Littledale. We wish that ignorance alone could be laid to his charge. The reader who has followed us through the brief account we have given of these False Decretals will have seen that, however culpable their unscrupulous compiler, a sincere wish to aid in the reformation of the Church in France was the primary object in his work, though at the same time the vindication of Ebbo's episcopate was never entirely absent from his thoughts. He will also have admired the prudent policy of Nicolas the First in ignoring them altogether when there was every inducement to make use of documents which would have been very pertinent to the questions on which the Pope was writing. He will have observed, moreover, how groundless is the attempt of the Gallicans to establish their assertion that the Decretals introduced certain novelties into ecclesiastical discipline. And lastly, he will have gathered the true character of the compilation, that it was by no means a forgery pure and simple, but that a large portion of it is genuine and authentic, while the spurious part is made up partly of genuine documents

assigned to those who did not compose them, partly of the inventions pure and simple of the author, who however, even here, draws largely on local councils and provincial synods, even where he himself puts together the counterfeit letter of Pope or Council. It will therefore excite no small wonder and amusement on his part when he reads the following extract from Dr. Littledale. We have reserved it to the end of our article because we did not wish to interrupt our historical sketch with the disagreeable necessity of exposing poor Dr. Littledale:

"In the middle of the ninth century came the far greatest of all the forgeries, the famous 'False Decretals,' that is, a collection of about a hundred formal official letters and decrees of a number of early Popes and Councils on points of doctrine and discipline, all intended to augment the Papal authority; which were fabricated in Western Gaul about 845, and were eagerly seized on by Pope Nicolas the First, an ambitious and perfectly unscrupulous Pontiff (858—867) to aid in revolutionizing the Church, as he in fact largely succeeded in doing."

Dr. Littledale here asserts:

1. That the Decretals were all intended to augment the Papal authority.—False.
2. That they were eagerly seized on by Pope Nicolas the First.—Not only false, but the very opposite of the truth.
3. That he was an ambitious, a perfectly unscrupulous prelate.—False, and grossly calumnious.
4. That by their help he succeeded in largely revolutionizing the Church.—Utterly false.

We should like to ask Dr. Littledale a simple question. Has he read these Decretals, or has he not? If he has not, no words can sufficiently characterize the guilty presumption of one who makes such statements about documents of which he is wholly ignorant, and about a great and holy Pontiff whose history he has never read, and whose character he has never studied. If he has read the Decretals, and mastered the history of the times when they were fabricated, we can only say that we can hardly imagine that the father of lies himself would have ventured on so deliberately reversing the truth on all these particulars.

But we have not yet come to the worst. After one or two quotations from the False Decretals, he goes on to answer the supposed plea for the Popes that they accepted them like everyone else in an uncritical age. This plea, he tells us, is untenable, because the Popes could have referred to the Roman Archives

to discover their true character. We have seen that at the very time that all the world accepted them, the Popes not only did not recognize them, but ignored them in the most pointed way. Even if they had received them from the first, it would have been no great matter for surprise, as there might very easily be in existence Papal documents elsewhere than in the Archives of Rome. But, passing this by, we next come to a statement in which Dr. Littledale surpasses himself :

"Pope Nicolas the First," he says, "solemnly and publicly lied on this head to some of the Frankish Bishops, assuring them that the Roman Church had long preserved all these documents with honour in her archives, and that every writing of a Pope is binding on the whole Church, knowing, as he did, that not one of the forgeries was, or ever had been, laid up in those archives (Mansi, *Concil*, xv. 695)."

We have given above the facts of St. Nicolas the First's letter to the Bishops. We have seen that he never once mentions those Decretals, purposely ignores them, though his correspondents quote them again and again, assigns Papal letters to their true authors, not to those whose name they bear in the Decretals. Is it possible that our lover of truth, our honest English gentleman, can have written the above sentence in the very teeth of the facts ? Has he ever looked at Mansi ? If he has, he must have construed the Latin backwards. If he has not, he must be more utterly unscrupulous than the most unscrupulous of Protestant controversialists.

But this is not the worst ; it is not only the Chief Pastor of the Church of God, it is one of the Saints, one whom the Church has raised to her altars by reason of his heroic sanctity, against whom Dr. Littledale flings this charge, which would be an insult even if it were aimed at a Protestant controversialist. *Pope Nicolas the First publicly and solemnly lied.* We should not like to say even of Dr. Littledale that he publicly and solemnly lied. We would not use so opprobrious an expression even of one so reckless of truth as he is. But to apply such words to one of the Saints of God, to brand as a public liar one of the chosen ones of the Most High, is an act of sacrilege. For an insult offered to a Saint falls not so much on the Saint himself as on Him to Whom the honour of His Saints is as the apple of His eye. When Dr. Littledale's hatred of the Church leads him as far as this, we need pursue him no further.

RICHARD F. CLARKE.

An Archbishop of Paris.

PART THE FOURTH.

CHRISTOPHE DE BEAUMONT remained in exile at La Roque until the 20th of October, 1759. While he was sanctifying himself in his quiet captivity by prayer and almsdeeds, Father La Valette, of the Society of Jesus, a missionary in the West Indies, was preparing the way to calamity for his Order by giving to its enemies a better excuse for interference than they could have invented for themselves. Thinking only of the advantages which his native Christians would derive from an organized exchange of exports and imports, he had been gradually drawn into a very culpable violation of rule, and had made himself the responsible agent in large mercantile transactions which ended disastrously. His chief creditors, a firm in Marseilles, sued the Society of Jesus as being corporately responsible for all the acts of each member everywhere. No such "solidarity" had ever been recognized, and the Superiors of the Society in France contested the point. It seemed to them that all ought not to suffer for a purely personal act of folly committed by one of their brethren against all right and precedent. The case was tried in Marseilles, and the Society of Jesus was found liable for the debt. The best friends of the Fathers advised them to strain every sinew in the effort to meet the demand. Christophe de Beaumont urged this view very strongly: "A wound in the pocket does not kill," he said. The Dauphin offered the same counsel: "Make your arrangements," he said, "to avoid the blow which they want to inflict. I have my doubts whether you could recover from it." But less prudent thoughts prevailed, and in an evil hour the Fathers appealed from the consulate of Marseilles to the parliament of Paris. They might as well have asked at once for their sentence of death. There is every reason for believing that if the point at issue had been tried on its own merits before an

¹ *Etudes religieuses*, &c., 1879. "Christophe de Beaumont," par P. Régault.

impartial tribunal, the idea of treating a religious order as a joint stock company, subject to a general law of unlimited liability without previous agreement or even cognizance of the fact, would have been rejected as having no foundation in either law or justice; but when a parliament of French Jansenists sat in judgment upon the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, the decision could not be doubtful. Such a chance of dealing a heavy blow they well knew could never come back again if once they allowed it to go by. No second La Valette would play into their hands. The misconduct of one member had driven the Society of Jesus to seek justice at the hands of its bitterest enemies. Such men were sure to use to the limit of their power the opportunity of revenge. That this was the motive of their adjudication subsequent events made clear, for they first declared that the Jesuits were collectively responsible for the debt, then, after a short interval, they proceeded to confiscate the goods of the Society in France, and finally, they forgot to employ any part of the confiscated property in reimbursing the Brothers Lioncy of Marseilles.

The first consequence, natural and immediate, of the foolish appeal was a sifting inquiry into the Institute of the Society of Jesus. The parliament had lighted upon a labour of love. It was in a position to demand unreserved disclosures, for the victims had invited its interference in their domestic concerns, since a case of indemnification, depending upon the intrinsic constitution of religious bodies, had been referred to its judicial wisdom. As the investigation proceeded, that happened which might have been foreseen without the help of prophetic inspiration. The inquiry, which began by being, ostensibly at least, of secondary and subordinate value, soon eclipsed the original subject of debate. The more the parliament scrutinized the foredoomed Institute, the louder grew its voice of condemnation. It is most interesting, now that the godless Government of France is walking in the steps of that old Jansenist parliament, to watch how very closely the tactics of to-day resemble the model movements of last century. It was found to be incompatible with the sovereign authority at home that French Jesuits should owe obedience to a General living outside France. Then, as now, the retort was ready that the same argument would strike at all Catholic obedience to a foreign prelate—the Pope; but the last thing that persecutors care to consider is consistency in the motives which they allege for

their justification. They are like the schoolmaster with his uplifted rod of justice. If the culprit has done something, down comes the cane for the punishment of the evil deed; and if he has done nothing, down comes the cane as the reward of idleness. To parliaments and governments which have entered on the road of persecution, religious orders are sometimes too active, and then they are said to endanger the peace of nations; sometimes too quiet, and then they are said to be useless citizens, eating the bread of idleness. In either case it is assumed that the best remedy is suppression. The Jesuits were driven from their colleges in Portugal on the plea that they no longer kept their admirable rule, and they were driven from their colleges in France on the plea that they had observed only too faithfully a rule which had deserved reprobation from the first. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi.*

The death of the Marquis de Belle-Isle, in January, 1761, not only deprived the Jesuits of a protector, but placed the chief ministerial power in the hands of their sworn enemy the Duc de Choiseul just at the moment when the parliament was preparing its response to the ill-advised appeal in the case of Father La Valette. On the 17th of April the Fathers were ordered to submit for examination a copy of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, three days being granted for compliance with the injunction. On the very next morning (the 18th) they were ordered to put an end in all their houses to the meetings of the already renowned *Sodality of the Blessed Virgin*. The character of this purely pious association was so well known that not even an attempt was made to represent it as a political club, but its influence was with good reason feared by the Jansenists and encyclopedists, the pretended champions of severe orthodoxy and the open deniers of all Christianity, who now united their forces in unholy alliance against the Pope and the Bishops and the Jesuits. Three advocates were deputed to examine the mysterious Constitutions, one of them being the spiteful little hunchback Chauvelin, whose mind was as crooked as his body.

On the 8th of May, 1761, the parliament of Paris declared the General of the Society of Jesus, and with him the whole Society, responsible for the debt incurred by Father La Valette, principal and interest, and ordered that the money should be paid within the year, or, failing this, that the creditors should be entitled to lay hands on Jesuit property in France wherever

they most conveniently could. Part of the money was actually paid, and preparations were made for paying the rest when the Society was relieved from the need of farther exertion by a decree of spoliation. The high-handed measures of the parliament had been watched by Louis the Fifteenth with growing displeasure. He did not dare to forbid the commission of inquiry, but he tried to thwart its action by appointing a counter commission. He directed a royal council to examine into the Institute of the Society of Jesus. His delegates were far more sincere and painstaking than the parliamentary commissioners, and they worked in no unfriendly spirit, but in the sequel it appeared that the fire and fury of the parliament were less to be feared than the kind consideration of the royal council, and the Society of Jesus might have breathed a fervent prayer to be "saved from its friends." However, they began their work with evidently good intentions, for they represented to the King that their lay tribunal was not competent to discuss a matter so purely and simply ecclesiastical as the goodness or badness of the Constitutions of a religious order. In consequence of this suggestion an assembly of prelates was called, under the presidency of the Cardinal de Luynes, to examine and report upon the true character of the Society of Jesus in order that the King might know whether in their judgment its continued existence in France would be dangerous to the welfare of the nation. They were directed to consider the political import of its teaching, and to say whether in their opinion the obedience rendered to the Father General was compatible with the duty of French subjects to their sovereign. The inquiry began on November 30, 1761, when a committee of twelve bishops was charged with the examination in detail of the Institute of the Society of Jesus, a month being allowed to them for the performance of the task. On the 30th of December the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, fifty-one in all, who had been appointed by the King to advise him in the matter, met to discuss the report of their committee. It was agreed that the resolutions should be presented to his Majesty in the form of a letter. All the prelates except six, of whom one was the unfortunate Bishop of Soissons, FitzJames, declared that "no change ought to be made in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus in what regards the authority of the General."²

² The Count Alexis de Saint-Priest surpasses himself on this occasion. He makes the Duc de Choiseul, in a message to the Holy Father, contradict flatly the account

The Bishops by their unconditional praise, which was echoed back from thirty additional dioceses, caused much perplexity to the Royal Commissioners, who, like the King their master, wished to save the Society of Jesus by forcing it into some concessions. The famous words of Clement the Thirteenth spoken on this occasion, *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*, were not according to the mind of Louis, who was willing to extend to the persecuted

given above. If Choiseul used the words ascribed to him, he did so with deliberate falsehood, and Saint-Priest ought to have informed his readers of that fact; if Choiseul did not commit that particular fraud, Saint-Priest has seriously calumniated him.

The original words of the Bishops may be seen in the *Collection des Procès-Verbaux des Assemblées Générales du Clergé de France*. I extract a paragraph:

"Par ces raisons nous pensons, Sire, qu'il n'y a aucun changement à faire dans les Constitutions de la Compagnie de Jésus, par rapport à ce qui regarde l'autorité du Général. Votre Majesté nous permettra même de lui représenter que quand il y aurait quelque réforme à faire à ces Constitutions, elle ne pourrait être faite selon les lois canoniques, selon l'usage de tous les temps, selon la discipline de l'Eglise de France, et même selon les maximes constamment suivies de vos cours de Parlement, qu'avec le concours de N.S.P. le Pape, les évêques de votre Royaume, et de la Congrégation Générale des Jésuites, et qu'il faudrait même avoir le consentement des Jésuites profès; que changer les dispositions des Constitutions à ce qui regarde la dépendance du Général, ce serait, comme nous l'avons déjà observé, renverser tout l'Institut" (t. viii. 2 partie. Appendix, p. 350).

Saint-Priest might have learned the truth even from D'Alembert, who says in his little book, *Sur la Destruction des Jésuites en France: par un Auteur désintéressé*, 1765:

"Le roi au milieu de toute cette procédure, avait consulté sur l'institut des Jésuites, les évêques qui étaient à Paris. Environ quarante d'entre eux, soit persuasion, soit politique, avaient fait les plus grands éloges, et de l'institut et de la société; six avaient été de l'avis de modifier les constitutions à certains égards; un seul, l'évêque de Soissons, avait déclaré l'institut et l'ordre également détestables" (p. 165).

In the face of such documents Saint-Priest says calmly and without comment:

"Choiseul en dressa lui-même le programme [of the proposed reform of the constitutions of the Society of Jesus] et l'envoya au saint-siège. Par l'organe du cardinal de Rochechouart, il fit savoir au Pape que cinquante et un évêques de France avaient été réunis non pas en assemblée régulière et authentique, mais en conférence privée chez le cardinal de Luynes, l'un d'entre eux, pour donner non une décision à l'Eglise gallicane, mais une consultation au roi; que là, à l'unanimité moins six voix, et après un examen approfondi des constitutions de l'ordre, il avait été résolu que l'autorité illimitée du général résidant à Rome était incompatible avec les lois du royaume; que pour concilier toutes les convenances, le général devait nommer un vicaire qui résiderait en France, chose d'ailleurs conforme aux statuts, car ils autorisaient le général à nommer un vicaire dans les cas pressants" (*Histoire de la Chute des Jésuites aux XVIII. siècle*. Paris, 1844, p. 51).

Can it be that the Count Alexis de Saint-Priest, a Catholic, is so dominated by his dislike of the Society of Jesus that he understands a plain declaration in the sense exactly opposite to that which it was intended to convey? Some words which he quotes with approval, apparently from a speech delivered by himself in 1844, sufficiently indicate the temper in which he writes: "They [the Jesuits] cannot teach love of France. That is why France wants to have nothing to do with them" (*Ibid.* end of Preface).

religious the same kind of protection which he had accorded to his banished Archbishop, *Emendatos dimittam*. They must consent to sacrifice something in order to save their civil rights: they must forego certain peculiarities of government, they must bring their constitutions into harmony with French opinion, they must cease to be what they have been, and on that condition they shall be preserved: *Sint, sed non ut sunt*.

Cardinal de Bernis thought that the clergy were very unwise in supporting the Society of Jesus with so much zeal. They would have done it better service, he said, by forcing it to mend its faults than by sounding its praises so inopportunately. It may be well to remember that at this particular time he was on terms of the closest intimacy with Voltaire. "Do come here," writes Voltaire (October 26 and November 23, 1761), "it will make me die of joy. My 'Paradise' (*Les Delices*) is at your service, and will prove its right to the name. I have a gem of a theatre and a lovely church. You shall superintend all that, and confer your blessing upon our innocent diversions."

The next movement of the Commissioners led to a deplorable act of weakness on the part of the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Paris, Père de la Croix. Under threat of the anger of the King and the immediate destruction of the Society in France, he signed and caused to be signed a declaration drawn up by order of Louis in favour of the schismatical "Four Articles of 1682," by which he consented, not indeed to accept them as true, but to cause them to be taught in the colleges. No excuse can be offered for this culpable and foolish compliance, but it is perhaps only fair to say that comparatively few Frenchmen in the eighteenth century, even among enlightened theologians and estimable prelates, had escaped all taint and touch of Gallicanism. Père de la Croix soon confessed his error. The document, with its extorted signatures, was promptly repudiated by the whole Society of Jesus, with Father Ricci at its head. Not on such terms could the children of Ignatius accept the favour of the King of France. Yet both the Holy Father and the General treated the faint-hearted Provincial with great forbearance, rightly thinking that censures and public reprimands should not be readily administered to men who were actually suffering persecution for Christ's sake.

The Commissioners, foiled once more in what they considered a benevolent design, setting aside the opinion of the Bishops as impracticable, and fearing only to encounter fresh opposition if

they communicated their intentions to the persons most concerned, of their own proper movement proposed to the King to save the French Jesuits, in spite of themselves, by appealing to the Father General to permit a temporary change in the government of his Order in France. Mgr. FitzJames had insidiously suggested that the French Jesuits should be made into a separate association under a General of their own, but it was certain that neither Clement the Thirteenth nor Father Ricci would sanction a scheme which was only destruction under another name. The Commissioners therefore proposed that the French Jesuits remaining attached to the body of the Society, and having still their General resident in Rome, should be more directly subject to a Vicar-General appointed provisionally and to some extent independent of the Father General. This was just the kind of half-measure that suited the temper of Louis the Fifteenth, and he despatched a messenger in haste to Rome to Cardinal Rochechouart, his Ambassador, bidding him represent to Father Ricci that the only hope for the Society in France lay in his prompt compliance with an offer made in pure kindness.³

The more enlightened friends of the Society of Jesus, such as the Queen, the Dauphin, the Prince de Soubise, M. de la Bourdonnaye, and most of all, Christophe de Beaumont, shared the consternation of the Fathers, when they heard what the King had done. There was no uncertain note in any French house of the Society of Jesus with regard to the project of Louis the Fifteenth. From young and old alike came the expression of an unchangeable resolve to stand by their Father General to their death. That death was near at hand. Clement the Thirteenth wrote to Louis, begging him "with tears" to set aside the thought of making any change, however slight, in Constitutions which had been fully accepted by the Church. Louis tried to frame a decree so artfully worded as to please both the Pope and the parliament, but the attempt was a fresh proof of weakness, and the parliament insolently refused to register the decree. So low had royalty fallen, that the Dauphin, though a firm friend of the Society of Jesus, said to Mgr. de Beaumont: "The kingdom can go on without the Jesuits, but it cannot go on without authority of some kind."

³ In a letter from Father Routh to Father Ricci, dated January 18, 1762, the words occur: "Homines enim laici, alioquin benevoli, existimant belle et amice nobiscum agi, si talibus conditionibus nos incolumes e manibus inimicorum nostrorum eripiant." The friendship of the Commissioners was more dangerous than the hostility of the parliament.

On the 1st of April, 1762, the parliament, without further ceremony, closed the noviciates and the eighty-four colleges of the Society of Jesus. Audacity generally succeeds in France. The Catholics stood aghast, but thought it would be better to wait and see whether the King would endure this last indignity. The Jansenists were triumphant. The Encyclopedists had more reason to rejoice. The Jesuits dead, the Jansenists dying, and then our Saturnalia!⁴

Christophe de Beaumont made the cause of the Society of Jesus his own. A general assembly of the clergy, called by Louis for financial purposes, offered to the intrepid Archbishop a good opportunity of securing a united remonstrance, such as would, if anything could, rouse the King to a sense of his duty. After voting a patriotic subsidy, the prelates deputed their president, the Archbishop of Narbonne, to present to his Majesty a letter bearing the signature of every member of the assembly, and sent as the expression of the "unanimous desire of all the ecclesiastical provinces" of the kingdom. They could not, they said, behold without alarm the destruction of a society of religious men, commendable for blameless life and strict discipline, for successful and enlightened industry, and for services unnumbered to Church and State." The writers of the letter may not have indulged in very ardent expectations, but they could scarcely have been prepared for the freezing reception which awaited their earnest appeal. The Comte de Saint-Florentin was instructed to say:

His Majesty is of opinion that, for the better attainment of the object proposed, the assembly will find it necessary to rest content with what it has already done, for fear that any further movement on the part of the clergy in this matter may prove an obstacle to the aid which they seek to render to the Jesuits (p. 854).

One only hope remained—the strenuous intervention of the Dauphin. Mgr. de Beaumont set off for Versailles without delay to confer with the Prince. The only question for the latter was whether his interference would not do more harm than good. He meditated and sought the advice of a trusted friend, the Bishop of Verdun. In the end he contented himself

⁴ "Je vois d'ici les jansénistes mourant l'année prochaine de leur belle mort, après avoir fait périr cette année-ci les jésuites de mort violente ; je vois la tolérance s'établir, les protestants rappelés, les prêtres mariés, la confession abolie, et l'infâme écrasée sans qu'on s'en aperçoive" (D'Alembert to Voltaire, May 4, 1762. See *Etudes*, June, 1879, p. 848).

with refusing to give his assent to acts which he could not "in honour or conscience" approve.

The closing of the colleges was a preliminary measure. On the 6th of August, 1762, came the thunderbolt. The members of the Society of Jesus were ordered to renounce their rules, their religious habit, their community life, and to leave their houses within eight days. They were not to be permitted to exercise any function unless they would swear allegiance to the Four Articles of 1682. In vain Clement the Thirteenth raised his voice. The parliament, astonished at its own success, would not change its course except under compulsion, and the King, if he could do nothing else, could help to make resistance hopeless. Finally, in March, 1764, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus were ordered to leave the country. And the sentence was carried out with merciless severity, no exception being made for age, or length of service, or bodily infirmity. Twenty-five out of four thousand accepted the alternative, and took the oath prescribed as the condition of escape from punishment. In November, 1764, Louis the Fifteenth definitively sanctioned what the parliament had done.⁵ *C'en est fait de ces bénits Pères*, said Count de Caylus merrily in his letter of this date.

Mgr. de Beaumont could not save his friends, but he could suffer with them. His exertions in their cause gained him the honour and repose of a new banishment. Certainly his conduct was exasperating, for he refused to submit to illegal decrees, and he said plainly that he would not sit down patiently and silently, to let the usurping magistrates have their own way, as long as he was able to impede their progress. His celebrated pastoral instruction of October 28, 1763, which Voltaire, before he had seen it, called *la petite drôlerie de l'hicrophante de Paris*, and of which he said six months later, when he had "at last" read it, that it seemed to him "moderate and reasonable," gave joy to Catholics of France, and stirred up the wrath of the innovators. If we except the Bull of Clement the Thirteenth (*Apostolicum*, January 9, 1765), it is perhaps the noblest defence of the Society of Jesus which has ever been uttered. It gives

⁵ This short account of the removal of the Society of Jesus from France was necessary to put in its true light the conduct of Mgr. de Beaumont, and for that reason alone it finds place in this narrative; nor shall I enter into any disquisition of the motives which afterwards induced Clement the Fourteenth to decree the suppression of an Order which his immediate predecessor had declared to be deserving of all praise. The reader is referred to P. de Ravignan's treatise: *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*

as pointed and complete a reply to M. Jules Ferry or M. Paul Bert at the present moment as it gave to their political ancestors one hundred and twenty years ago, because in the interval no new accusations have been invented, for the simple reason that they have not been needed. It is both less troublesome and more effective to reconstruct an old calumny than to compose a new one. To gain fresh currency for an assertion which has been many times made and many times disproved, it is only necessary to quote the books in which it is defended and omit to mention the books in which it is contradicted. Even a mere analysis of the Archbishop's long discourse would demand more space than can be accorded here, but the exordium and the peroration must not be omitted.

We owe it to the example of the Apostle to "honour our ministry." It is one part of this debt to ascertain with all diligence the trustworthiness and ability of those who present themselves to labour under our direction in the vast field which our Lord has confided to us. We should be guilty of a crime if we consented to accept the services of ignorant or vicious men; we should do injury to God and His people, if we were willing to deprive ourselves of the cooperation and the good example of men, such as St. Paul demands, "workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth." And if, when we have found men who are worthy of our confidence, we behold them exposed to the fury of the storm, slandered, persecuted, we shall believe ourselves in duty bound to comfort them in their day of sorrow, and to bear public witness to their innocence.

The pastoral contains four points answering to the four principal accusations brought against the Society of Jesus in respect of its wicked rules, its more wicked vows, its impious doctrines, and its bad behaviour. The detailed exposure of the base conspiracy by which the Society of Jesus was driven from France leads naturally to these indignant words which form part of the concluding exhortation—

We call to mind so many good ecclesiastics subjected to vexatious decrees and processes, driven from their houses, proscribed in terms of rigorous judgment for having observed in their sacred ministrations the laws of the Church and the injunctions of the Supreme Pastor. Not upon them but upon us the storm ought to have burst. But they are struck and we are spared; they are the victims suffering for righteousness, and we are but witnesses of the sacrifice. If we watch them with affectionate interest, still more may we envy them. How gladly would we purchase their exemption from disgrace at the cost of incurring it ourselves!

Caylus, mentioned before, an amiable man, benevolent to all except the Jesuits and their friends, thought it a great pity that the headstrong Archbishop should bring trouble upon himself by so much useless rhetoric—"mustard when dinner was over."⁶ Clement the Thirteenth did not think it useless to speak the truth for truth's sake. Writing to the Bishop of Grenoble in April, 1764, he says that it is a matter of grave concern "to all the faithful of Christ of every nation under heaven" that the facts should be made known, and, in particular, the incompetence of the judges, who take upon themselves to censure as "irreligious and impious" an Institute which has a saint for its founder, saints for its panegyrists, saints among its disciples, an Institute approved and many times confirmed by the Holy See, commended by the Council of Trent, cherished by the Catholic Church for more than two hundred years.⁷

St. Alphonsus di Liguori added the weight of his authority. "It is all a plot of Jansenists and infidels. If they succeed in overthrowing the Society they will have what they desire. If this rampart falls there will be great troubles in Church and State. When once the Jesuits are destroyed, the Pope and the Church will be in a much more deplorable condition. The Jesuits are not the only mark at which the Jansenists are aiming. They only look to the Society for the sake of dealing a surer blow against the Church and the civil governments."⁸

Mgr. de Beaumont had spoken with the full purpose of making himself heard. It is said on the very doubtful testimony of Caylus,⁹ who retails to his friend all amusing stories that reach his ears without caring to sift them, that the Archbishop presented a copy of his pastoral with his own hands to Louis, who turned his back upon him in high displeasure. Every effort was made by the Court and the parliament to choke his utterance, and in spite of the zeal of his friends in multiplying copies, the document was not easily to be procured. On the 16th of January, 1764, Mgr. de Beaumont was present as a peer of France in the *Grand' Chambre*, when Councillor Lambert rose to denounce the pastoral. The Archbishop immediately left the house. A few days later the Count de Saint-Florentin came to order him in the King's name to return to his retreat at

⁶ *Correspondance inédite du Comte de Caylus avec le P. Paciaudi*. Paris, 1877. Letter of December 20, 1763.

⁷ *Bullarii Continuatio*, vol. ii. Episcopo Gratianopolitano, April 4, 1764.

⁸ De Ravignan, *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.* p. 16.

⁹ *Correspondance inédite*, January 15, 1764.

Saint-Roque, or to choose any residence he liked provided he put forty leagues between himself and the capital. He chose the Abbey of La Trappe, near Alençon. He made instant provision for the administration of his diocese during his forced absence. His faithful Chapter of Notre Dame gave him an affectionate farewell, which he answered with tears in his eyes. On the 24th of January the famous protest was burnt with the usual ceremonies. "Is it true, dear brother," wrote Voltaire to Damilaville, "that my lord's pastoral has been brought to light at the foot of the stairs of May? The author of it will certainly have his name in the Roman Martyrology. All this is damaging to *l'infâme*."

Then followed a most vexatious and undignified "paper-hunting" in house and convent, to surprise the possessors and vendors of the pastoral. All who showed any sympathy with the exiled Archbishop were marked out for annoyance, and subjected to cross-examinations and menaces, and even to imprisonment; but, while the hangman was tearing his pastoral, and the police were invading the houses of his friends, Christophe de Beaumont received the consoling assurance of the Holy Father's absolute and unqualified approval of his conduct.

We do not think that what has just taken place has found you, Venerable Brother, unprepared. You certainly foresaw that your last pastoral instruction, in which, with the applause of good men, you defend so ably the Divine authority of the Church, would be sure to rouse against you the full fury of the storm. But the dangers which threatened you, the labours which awaited you, the trouble of mind and painful anxiety which were sure to come upon you, were alike unable to turn you aside from the path of your episcopal duty. The heroes of the early Church, who in the same sacred cause dared death in every form, if they returned to earth, would give their admiration to your constancy and priestly courage.¹⁰

Clement the Thirteenth made it clear beyond cavil that he shared the thoughts and purposes of Christophe de Beaumont. "It seems," says Caylus, "that this Pope of yours much resembles our Archbishop. If the latter should find his way to Rome, they will be as two fingers on one hand." The brief of Clement from which I have quoted two sentences, was promptly suppressed by the parliament of Paris, acting as usual in the name of the King, and in the interests of orthodoxy

¹⁰ *Bullarii Continuatio*, vol. ii. February 15, 1764.

against a schismatic prelate and a misguided Pope, for to the lawyers of France, and not to the Catholic episcopate, Christ, according to the Jansenists, had confided the care of pure doctrine. The pastoral, "burnt but not answered," in spite of police regulations, became more and more known, and one prelate after another signified his adhesion. The holy old Bishop of Amiens desired nothing better than to die in exile. He went into battle regardless of all consequences, and, no printer daring to affix his name, published as best he could his brave defence of his dear friend and colleague, "our St. Athanasius." To keep all the danger to himself he addressed each copy with his own hand, and gained a part of his coveted reward when he heard, a few days later, that his pamphlet had been found worthy of the honour of being torn and burnt for an example. But the sentence of banishment which he confidently expected was still withheld.

A month after the expulsion of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, the miserable woman who had sought their ruin with unflinching hate went to her account, unlamented by the King. The same vengeance which the victims of Pombal breathed over his unburied corpse when they returned to Portugal, followed Madame de Pompadour to her grave—prayers for mercy to a great sinner.

Mgr. de Beaumont, under the first attack of a malady which without the best advice and treatment might have had fatal consequences, was permitted to return to Paris to consult the physicians, for Louis did not wish to have it said that he had caused the death of his Archbishop. This was only a suspension, not a rescinding of the sentence, but when Louis had finally forbidden the Fathers of the Society to return to France by the decree of November, 1764, he felt more free to show kindness to Mgr. de Beaumont, and allowed him to resume the administration of his diocese. On Christmas Eve, Christophe found himself once more surrounded by his flock. Although he had received a gracious pardon for his misdeeds, the King requested him to abstain from attending the Assembly of the Clergy in 1765, but so vigorous a demand was made by all the Bishops that Louis retracted what he said had been not a precept but a counsel.

From this time there was less of open persecution for the much-tried Archbishop of Paris, but there was no peace or truce from the sorrow which filled his heart for the country

drifting into impiety under a weak King and wicked parliaments. That sorrow must have deepened into the resignation of despair before the year 1765, embittered by new Jansenist scandals and fresh troubles with the Primate of Tours, reached its close. The one hope of a national revival died with the good Dauphin. A bad cold, caught in the first days of August, and imprudently despised, brought on a rapid decline. The invalid was taken to Fontainebleau at the beginning of October, and Mgr. de Beaumont, thoroughly alarmed, paid many anxious visits in quick succession, and tried to believe that a life so precious could not be allowed to pass away so soon. The Prince received Viaticum on the 13th of November. All good Catholics were praying for his recovery as if they would not accept a refusal. A three days' Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in every church in the diocese, a Novena of High Mass at Notre Dame, and a procession with the relics of St. Geneviève, gave impulse to popular devotion. The regiment of the Dauphin's Dragoons imposed a day of fasting on themselves. But France had sinned too deeply. Her Pharisees and Sadducees, her Jansenists with their profanation of the Blessed Sacrament, and her followers of Voltaire with their cold blasphemies, had not yet offered to do penance in sackcloth and ashes, and therefore they were allowed to fill up the measure of their iniquity that they might be scourged with scorpions at no distant day. The good and the bad are joined in tribulation when the heavy hand of God falls upon a whole people for the crimes of a considerable number, but the good suffer and are richly rewarded for every separate grief and pain, while the wicked only begin in this life the sorrow which shall never end. The Dauphin died on the 20th of December the death of the just. He was thirty-six years old. His wife, Marie-Joseph, died fifteen years later, regretting only that she could not complete the education of her eldest surviving son. Another term of fifteen months and Queen Maria Leczinska went to Heaven. Still Louis through so many warnings continued his long course of sinful folly with no other change than to deeper degradation. Even the entrance into religion in 1770 of his youngest and most loved child, Madame Louise, though he accepted the sacrifice, did not convert him.

The closing years of the good Queen's life had been consecrated with the help of Mgr. de Beaumont to the holy work of procuring increase of honour to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

The devotion now so widely known and diligently practised was at that time only beginning to break through the mist of prejudice which the Jansenist party had laboured hard to throw around it. According to the Jansenist writers of the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, the presence in any diocese of a disposition to honour with special worship the Sacred Heart of Jesus was a sufficient proof that Jesuit influence had been busy there. Great, therefore, was the anger of the heretics when Clement the Thirteenth in 1765 granted to the prayers of the Bishops of Poland a public *cultus* of the Sacred Heart, and greater still their rage and thirst for vengeance when a few months later all the Bishops assembled in Paris, acting upon the suggestion of Maria Leczinska, who had drawn her inspiration from Christophe de Beaumont, determined to introduce the Mass and Office of the Sacred Heart into their dioceses, and to invite the rest of the episcopate to accede to the resolution. The Dauphin had begun to erect an altar at Versailles, and left a rich bequest for the completion of the work. "M. de Beaumont," said the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*,¹¹ "is welcome to bring himself into contempt by declaring himself the zealous promoter of an *impious and extravagant* devotion. But his predecessor ought not to be allowed to share the disgrace with him, and those who bear the name of M. de Vintimille have every right to purify it from this stain."

The expulsion of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus from France was the victory of the Jansenists, and after this great effort their zeal seemed to languish. The explanation of their gradual defervescence from that time forward may be found in a few words of Voltaire already quoted. Their day was in its decline. Their pretended devotedness to the cause of religion had made them for a time useful allies of the infidel party, but such an alliance could not last. As soon as religion had received what was esteemed an incurable wound, the philosophers breathed more freely and shook themselves loose from their former companions in arms. The war had passed into another phase, and had to be fought out not with unseemly disputes about giving the sacraments to the dying, or inserting a new Office in the Breviary, but with direct denial of authority Divine and human. The King had supported the Jansenist parliament against the whole hierarchy of France, and in due course the parliament, year by year caring less and less for

¹¹ *Etudes*, September, 1879, p. 382.

Jansenism, turned from the bruised and battered Church to assail the tottering throne, and prepared the way for others more reckless still, to whom it was reserved to kill the King's son. "This is the heir; come let us kill him; and the inheritance shall be ours."¹² They were counting without God, and they certainly ought to have known that the Church would outlive their little system as it had weathered eighteen centuries of storms and whirlwinds, but they flattered themselves that the Papal power was at last sinking to rise no more, and under that delusion they marched forward, no longer playing with heresy but fomenting revolution. The men who in 1880 have repeated the iniquity of 1764 are dreaming the same fond and foolish dream. May God save France from perishing by their hands! They cannot destroy the Church, but they can ruin their country. The lessons of history are not for mere place-hunters, whose only ambition is to raise themselves to power and affluence, but men whose hearts can beat to nobler impulses than the desire of self-aggrandizement, ought to be able to see by the light of the history of the last century, and to judge for themselves, whither that path of aggression and impiety upon which the assailants of the religious orders have entered now, is likely to lead unhappy France, if she gives them a free course therein.

The downward progress was very rapid in the years which preceded the first French Revolution. In the flood of Jansenist pamphlets which deluged France in 1751, almost every writer professed himself a friend of religion, but a marked change was visible in the corresponding outburst of scurrility which followed in 1767 the censure pronounced by the Sorbonne upon the latitudinarian principles advocated in a book of great notoriety and little merit—Marmontel's *Bélisaire*. The censure made the worldly fortune of the author, for his book, having been taken under the protection of Voltaire, found ready access to several royal personages, and, in particular, Frederick of Prussia and Catharine of Russia. Of the publications which came in answer to the decision of the Sorbonne D'Alembert says triumphantly: "Holland is raining down upon us unnumbered tracts against *l'infâme*: such as, *la Théologie portative*, *l'Esprit du Clergé*, *les Prêtres démasqués*, *le Militaire philosophe*, *le Tableau de l'Esprit humain*, &c., &c. It would seem that they are resolved to lay formal siege to *l'infâme*, they are

¹² St. Mark xii. 7.

pouring so much hot shot into the place."¹³ Efforts were made but in vain to bar the torrent. The commissary of police was obliged to confess that he could not check the overflow of *ces livres infernaux*.

Christophe de Beaumont did not leave the doctors of the Sorbonne to face the "hot shot" unsupported, but he "charged" at the enemy with such force of argument that Marmontel's book was damaged irretrievably except in the esteem of Catharine. The episcopal mandate was read in all the churches and placarded everywhere, even at the doors of the Academy, and for the moment the laugh was turned, inso-much that Voltaire himself seemed to lose the power of reply. Marmontel tried to console himself with one happy thought: "The crowned heads of Europe are with me. What care I for the lackeys of the Sorbonne?"

The powerful words of the Archbishop of Paris might have even stemmed the tide of licentious writing if a little more Christian courage had been left in the kingdom. A few magistrates declared that toleration of blasphemy had gone too far, and there was a rumour of an intention to punish the chief offender—but the Catholics of France in 1765 no more dared to make an example of Voltaire than the mice to bell the cat. Yet they were patient indeed, for they were able to endure the loathsome sacrilege of Voltaire's Paschal Communion in 1768, as well as a letter written by the wretched man to Mgr. de Beaumont announcing his conversion at the very time when he was laughing with his friends at the foul trickery by which he wished to hide his impenitence until a more convenient season for the public avowal of his worst designs. The letter remained unanswered to the great chagrin of the detected liar, who thenceforward had one motive more for fighting against God—revenge for an insult offered to his womanish vanity.

Clement the Thirteenth died in February, 1769, and in May Clement the Fourteenth was made Pope. The Indult of the Jubilee forced its way with difficulty into France, and was the occasion of the long deferred but inevitable rupture between the crown and the parliament.¹⁴ The parliament had decreed in

¹³ D'Alembert to Voltaire, September 22, 1767. *Etudes*, September, 1879, p. 390.

¹⁴ It is necessary to remember that a French "parliament," as has been said in a previous number, was not an estate of the realm, but merely a body of legal advisers of the King, who was not constitutionally bound to accept their advice. To casual or inattentive English readers the word "parliament" is a perpetual source of

1768 that no order from Rome should be promulgated in France without its authorization. Christophe de Beaumont said he would rather deprive France of the benefit of the Jubilee than accord it on such a condition. Louis, to please both parties, sent word to the Bishops in his own name, and as he had received a direct intimation from the Holy Father, the difficulty was evaded for that particular occasion, but the Archbishop continued to insist upon the rescinding of the parliamentary decrees. The prosecution of the Duc d'Aiguillon precipitated the collision. The parliament pressed the suit forward energetically, the King intervened to suspend it. The parliament ignored the suspension and pronounced the condemnation, supporting this strong measure of defiance by falling back upon the doctrine which once before had driven Louis to strong measures—the doctrine of the political union of all the parliaments of France.¹⁶ Louis still placed at this point the limit of his endurance; but as his principal counsellor at this stage of the quarrel was the infamous Madame Du Barry, who wished to revenge upon Choiseul the undisguised contempt with which he had treated her, it is scarcely possible to ascribe to Louis any purer motive than the now instinctive desire to delay for yet a little longer the inevitable catastrophe. Whatever his motive may have been it pushed him to an act of vigour. He dismissed Choiseul, and commissioned Chancellor Maupeou, the son of the former First President of the Parliament, to reconstruct the great Courts on a new basis. The Assembly of Councillors, known as the *Parlement Maupeou*, did not outlive Louis the Fifteenth. If any leader of men had appeared at this moment with sufficient faith in the cause which the defunct parliament had advocated to stake his own life upon the cast for power, he would have found materials ready to hand even then for a great upheaval of society similar to that which came at the end of another twenty years. But as the philosophers, like the Catholics, wanted the courage of their convictions, the immediate effect of the *coup d'état* brought about by such unworthy erroneous judgment in all questions of history connected with the *ancien régime*. We are not called upon to consider what the "parliament" ought to have been, but simply what it was.

¹⁶ See MONTH, January, 1881, p. 55. The oldest and by far the most important of these councils was the parliament of Paris, established in 1302. There were also parliaments at Toulouse, established in 1444; at Grenoble, in 1453; at Bordeaux, in 1462; at Dijon, in 1476; at Rouen, in 1499; at Aix, in 1501; at Rennes, in 1553; at Pau, in 1620; at Metz, in 1632; at Besancon, in 1674; at Douay, in 1686; at Nancy, in 1753.

agency was beneficial to religion and therefore to France. It was a repayment offered to the parliament in coin of its own minting—audacity for audacity. The spirit of the extinguished parliament had been subversive of all authority and leading directly to revolutionary violence; therefore the extinction of the parliament tended practically to the preservation of good order. It delayed the deluge. Louis rejoiced, and Christophe de Beaumont hoped against hope. Eighteen months earlier the Archbishop had pleaded with the elder Maupeou in behalf of his many banished priests, and had received for answer that he must first unsay the condemnation of Antoine Arnauld, and the censure of the Five Propositions. After the *coup d'état* of 1771 he appealed with better success, and the clergy were permitted to return after their fifteen years of exile. The Archbishop did not despair of being able to procure a revision of the sentence passed upon the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. He was bitterly undeceived. The news of the total suppression, which reached him at the end of August, overwhelmed him with grief. "I shall never get over this blow," he said; and those who knew him best thought that it would be his death, but he survived by several years both Clement the Fourteenth and Louis, and after the accession of Pius the Sixth, he even regained some portion of his former hope, for the new Pope made no secret of his desire to accomplish the restoration of the Society of Jesus. The letter to Clement the Fourteenth, bearing the name of Christophe de Beaumont, and the date of April 24, 1774, is of disputed authenticity.¹⁰ If it is genuine, it needs all the extenuation that can be found in the partial clouding of right judgment which sometimes results from the pressure of overwrought feelings, for it is certain that it contains expressions which are inexcusable, even in the mouth of a Frenchman of the eighteenth century. In it the good and great Archbishop says, or is made to say, that the Brief of Suppression is "only an isolated and partial decree, pernicious, not doing honour to the tiara, and injurious to the glory of the Church, the increase and conservation of the orthodox faith." Mgr. de Beaumont's pas-

¹⁰ Theiner rejects, Crétineau-Joly defends, the authenticity. On the one hand, the spirit of the letter seems at variance with all that can be found elsewhere bearing upon the conduct of Christophe de Beaumont in his communications with the Holy See, and his autograph, if it ever existed, has perished. On the other hand, the letter, such as we have it, was published in his life-time, and the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* defied him to deny that it was from his pen. Crétineau-Joly gives the letter at full length.

torals and letters contain many passages in which the language is vehement and uncompromising, but when he spoke in anger, at all other times, it was against the enemies of Jesus Christ and not against His Vicar upon earth. One thing is certain, that Louis the Fifteenth wrote to the Holy Father without delay to thank him for the "absolute suppression of an Order which was a continual source of annoyance in the Catholic States."

Death came to the poor King at last, and on his death-bed he felt that grace was given in answer to the prayers and penances of the Carmelite nun who had offered herself as a victim of expiation to save her father's soul. On April 27, 1774, Louis awoke at Trianon with a headache and shiverings. He was taken to Versailles, and two days later the symptoms of small-pox were manifest. Then began beside the couch of the dying King a conspiracy of sickening depravity, of which the object, told in the fewest words, was to spare the heartless and contemptible Du Barry the shame of a dismissal by bringing it to pass that Louis should die without the sacraments, and that the blame should be made to rest upon the shoulders of the Archbishop of Paris. He at the time was almost as ill as the King, and could not move without torture, for he was suffering from an internal disease which was bringing him surely though slowly to the end. Louis was kept in ignorance of the extremity of his own danger, so that he contented himself with asking for public prayers. Meantime all unbidden visits of those who might help his soul were carefully prevented. Ill as he was, Mgr. de Beaumont, having waited in vain for a summons, announced on the 1st of May his intention of visiting the King on the following morning. A flat refusal to admit the highest dignitary of the Church was impossible, but the friends of Du Barry tried to frighten the princess, Madame Adelaide, by assuring her that the shock of seeing Mgr. de Beaumont would put her father's life into immediate danger, and when that attempt had failed, they arranged that the visit should be in the presence of the Duke of Orleans, and that all mention of agitating subjects should be forbidden. The Duc de Richelieu, bad among the bad, met the Archbishop and used every art to dissuade him from speaking about confession. The most absurd stories¹⁷ have been printed and reprinted about this

¹⁷ Richelieu is said to have offered to make his confession in place of the King ! and Madame Du Barry is said to have promised the eternal Cardinal's hat once again ! and Christophe de Beaumont (most wonderful of all) is said to have had some difficulty in resisting the temptation !

interview, which as far as Christophe de Beaumont was concerned must have been a very simple piece of diplomacy, of which the substance was—I mean to see the King, and I mean to speak to him according to my conscience, and not by your dictation. Richelieu, D'Aumont, and the rest, could not prevent his entrance, but he was the best judge of the right moment for speaking to the dying man. Louis was not yet converted, and with such counsellors at his ear might by one word, empowering them to act, preclude all further interview. It was necessary to treat him cautiously. That this consideration, and not the arguments of Richelieu and Madame Du Barry, was the reason of the shortness of the first visit, no one, who knows anything of the long career of Christophe de Beaumont, will have the power of doubting. The second visit caused the departure of Madame Du Barry, the third visit, on the 4th of May, made Louis speak of preparing for the sacraments. The royal confessor, the curé of Versailles, Abbé Mandoux, in vain tried to procure admission. Richelieu stopped him on the way, and invented some excuse to amuse the King until, after three days of expectation, Louis at last, on the 7th of May, insisted on seeing his confessor. When at last the Abbé found entrance, he asked the King to ensure to him the power of returning, and Louis gave his orders in a loud voice that all present might bear witness. Richelieu retired defeated, Louis made his peace with God, and died sincerely contrite on the 10th of May. The enemies of Mgr. de Beaumont have accused him of consenting to leave the King to die in his sins, rather than inflict shame upon a woman who had deserved so well of the Catholics as Madame Du Barry in the affair of the *coup d'état* of 1771. The only wonder is that it could have been considered worth while to publish such assertions. Clement the Fourteenth ascribes the happy death of Louis to the prayers of his subjects and of his family, but especially (*quibus maxime nitebamur*) to the unceasing sighs and tears of "our beloved daughter in Christ, Aloysia Mary, offered up in that abode of sanctity for her most loving father." Christophe de Beaumont lost exactly a month later his best friend, the venerable Bishop of Amiens, who died on the feast of the Sacred Heart, which it had been his glory and happiness to inaugurate in his diocese. One of his last letters contains this appreciation: "I feel it much [the death of Louis], and still I cannot help saying: *He was taken away lest wickedness should alter him.* This Prince was weakness itself; I

trembled at the thought of his recovery even while I prayed for it. What our new King has done shows a good heart."

The death of Louis the Fifteenth shows indeed the marvels of God's mercy in the pardon of one whose life had been a scandal to religion and the direct cause of evils which can never be counted or weighed, but a death soon to follow showed even more clearly that God will not be mocked. Voltaire's sins were of a deeper dye, and to deliberate and calculating blasphemy, of all crimes the greatest, he added the meanness of hypocrisy. He was deeply dishonest, and like most men of that character he had a habit of praising himself for honesty, until he persuaded those who wished to think him better than he was, and half persuaded himself along with them, that he deserved at least the praise of plain-speaking. His public life was the conscious acting of a part. He was always "posing" before his admirers. His profanity began from a sickly thirst for the applause of originality and boldness of thought, but it grew and gained strength from despair of pardon. He had chosen his part, and must bide his time; yet more than once he would have been glad to repent if he could have made his peace with God without incurring the ridicule of his disciples. While as yet the end seemed distant, he was gaily defiant in his tone; when the end came near he was first unnerved and then more than ever hardened in a reprobate sense. We have his own words, in a letter dated February 25, 1758, jauntily referring to the day of death: "In twenty years God will have a sweet revenge."¹⁸ Precisely on that day twenty years later, February 25, 1778, he received his sentence of death, a hemorrhage brought on by exertion and loss of temper in a rehearsal of his tragedy of *Irène*. Those twenty years he had spent at Ferney, near Geneva, partly because a frontier town had its advantages for one whom the law could touch if the King chose to put it in force. Louis the Fifteenth steadily refused to have Voltaire in Paris; but Louis the Sixteenth, although he gave no sanction to the invitation; and took no personal part in the disgraceful homage, yielded so far to the petition of influential friends of "the Patriarch of Ferney," as to accept the accomplished fact. Instead of thus acquiescing in the prolongation of a visit which was expressly intended by its promoters to be an ostentatious display of the progress of

¹⁸ *Dans vingt ans Dieu aura beau jeu* (Voltaire to D'Alembert, February 25, 1758).

paganism, he ought to have repelled the suggestion as an insult not only to his father's memory but even to his own royal authority, since by not revoking he had equivalently confirmed the standing prohibition, and no interpretation of his silence could be considered respectful, if it directly contradicted his well known wishes and opinions. The arch-blasphemer, who was then eighty-four years old, came eagerly to sniff the incense of adulation, and in the midst of honours rendered to him as the foremost enemy of God, the coiner of that epithet at which Christians used to shudder, the man whose lips had uttered, and whose hand had traced, words of hideous jesting about the love of Jesus for sinners, the hand of the Almighty struck him down. The poor wretch lingered a few months to receive and reject the offer of a greater grace than all he had abused before. For him, as for Louis the Fifteenth, many prayers were made. The Abbé Gaultier, a *ci-devant soi disant* Jesuit, to use Voltaire's favourite phrase, obtained admission, and was even graciously received. For a few days hope ran high; but when the sick man felt his strength returning, and began to think that he might live a little longer, the charitable efforts of the good priest at once became wearisome beyond endurance to him. "These pestering priests are boring me to death. As soon as ever I can get myself carried away, I mean to be off, and I only hope their zeal will not bring them after me to Ferney. If I had been there, this would not have happened." But he did not leave Paris alive. He died impenitent on the 30th of May. No entreaties could induce Christophe de Beaumont to concede a Christian burial. The body was taken out of Paris to be buried "somewhere," if the honour of a grave in consecrated ground could be extorted or stolen from a more facile prelate. The friends of the dead man procured a resting-place for his bones by stating their case falsely and intercepting a letter which conveyed the true account.

Persecutors and good friends had fallen at the right hand and at the left, and still Christophe was spared that he might add in his last years to a long life of active labour the merit of patience under severe bodily pain. Not much remains to be told. On the 24th of November, 1781, he had ordered a *Te Deum* for the following day in thanksgiving for successes gained in America against the English troops. Something of his martial ardour had been softened down in his old age, and he found in

the mention of war an occasion for invoking the blessings of peace: "A war, however successful, is always a chastisement. Let us pray to the God of peace for a speedy termination, that being delivered from the calamities which always come with the clash of arms, *we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all piety and chastity.*"¹⁹ The next morning he was too ill to officiate. He passed away calmly a little before midnight on December 12, 1781, in his seventy-ninth year. Three thousand poor people besieged his palace, weeping over the loss of their father. In his lifetime he had contrived to hide many alms-deeds, which came to light when he was gone. It was found that one thousand ecclesiastics, and half that number of other persons, were entirely dependent upon his bounty. The Chapter of Notre Dame, which had loved and honoured him with uninterrupted fidelity through so many tribulations, felt that in helping his pensioners they were paying a tribute of love to his memory and establishing one more claim to his protection. They presented a petition to the King, praying that he would undertake the support of this large family of orphans until their indigence could be succoured in some other way.

For thirty-five years, as Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont had been guarding his flock, and both the sheep and the wolves knew his voice. To the poor of Christ he was all gentleness and condescension, to the disturbers of the public peace he opposed his "conscience," upon which no threats or promises were ever known to make the least impression. It is sad to think how soon after his death the howling wolves came down upon the fold.

A. G. KNIGHT.

¹⁹ 1 Tim. ii. 2.

the intention of war an occasion for investing the business of peace: "A war, however successful, is always a chastisement. Let us pray for the end of peace for a speedy termination, that being delivered from the calamities which always come with the clash of arms, we may find a quiet and a peaceful life in our arms and claims." The next morning he was too ill to attend to his duties. He died on the 12th of December 1878, in his seventy-ninth year. His friends and poor people despised his palace, weeping over the loss of their

*Secret Societies of China.*¹

HONEST minds are gradually waking to the fact that there has been a great deal of activity behind the scenes during the last forty years of public life. In the characteristic crime of this century—the spoliation of the Holy See—the men who pulled the strings and worked the puppets were nearly as invisible as the prince of darkness who superintended the performance. Yet the secret conspirators of Europe enjoy no monopoly of their Black Art. Long before the names were known of Freemasons, and Carbonari and Nihilists, a vast confederation, animated by the same hatred of all legitimate authority, lurked in the bosom of the Celestial Empire, unmolested and almost unperceived by the imperial magistrates.

In a series of six letters written in 1875, P. Leboucq, for many years a zealous and successful missionary, and now a Carthusian monk, reveals, in great part from his own experience, or from information derived directly from converted members of various associations, some exceedingly curious details of Chinese life, which do not lie in the ordinary groove of history. He includes in his investigation all kinds of brotherhoods, open and secret, sacred and political, benevolent and criminal. The first letter claims the largest share of attention. It contains a careful examination of the principles and practices of a society which exists to promote civil war, but which, in spite of its malignant theories, has given many children to the Church. Where least consolation might be looked for, there is not a little to be found, unless indeed P. Leboucq has been deceived by exceptional instances of conversion.

Compared with some of the associations mentioned in these letters, the Society of the Water Lily (*Nenuphar*) is a creation of yesterday, even taken at its oldest. Some European writers carry it back no farther than the commencement of this century,

¹ *Associations de la Chine.* Lettres du P. Leboucq, Missionnaire au Tché-Ly-Sud-Est, publiées par un de ses amis. Paris: F. Wattelier et Cie.

and think it is a mere adaptation of Freemasonry, but they are contradicted by the best authorities. If there is any justice in their opinion it can only amount to this, that the present condition of the Nenuphar is of recent settlement. There undoubtedly existed from early times a formidable revolutionary league, which has left its impress on the history of the Celestial Empire, and if the Nenuphar is not in all respects identifiable with it, there can be no doubt that it represents the same spirit and continues the old tradition.

According to the best informed historians, the Nenuphar had its origin in the conspiracy of Hoang-King-tze (Yellow Bonnets), in the reign of Ling-Ti, who was Emperor in the second century of the Christian era. That Prince had caused to be beheaded several hundred literates. The Yellow Bonnet leaders, three brothers of the name of Chang, raised and equipped three powerful armies to overthrow the tyrant, and the organization which they thus called into being never afterwards entirely disappeared, although it fared somewhat badly under several Emperors, and had to change its name from time to time and in different parts of the Empire. In one place it was the Society of Heaven and Earth, in another the Blue Water Lily, in another the Red Water Lily, but everywhere and always it clung to its ruthless programme of opposition to all rightly constituted government—rebellion for rebellion's sake, an object worthy of Lucifer himself.

Leaving the question of origin, and considering the White Nenuphar only as it is and has been from the beginning of this century, we read that its more immediate constitution was in this wise. A literate of Shan-Si named Li, in the reign of Kia-King (1796—1820), thought himself born to rule. He disclosed his views to a faithful friend, who advised him to invent a seductive religious system, and go about the provinces preaching his doctrines till he had gained an influence which he could afterwards employ at his discretion. The advice was eminently practical, and Li shut himself up in close seclusion to excogitate some novelty in religion. Then he issued from amid his native hills of Shan-Si, where he was too well known to succeed in his new character, and, proceeding to the most inflammable part of the Empire, the district of Ho-nan, preached to ever increasing numbers the gospel which he had invented expressly *ad captandum vulgus*. He announced himself as the friend of the oppressed, whose sufferings he sought to alleviate

at all cost of self-immolation. The miserable hypocrite was cut off in his sin, just when he had attained the first object of his clever scheme, and had not only been saluted with acclamation by grateful multitudes as their prophet-chief, but had actually organized an army. His master-idea descended to eight chosen disciples, and of these two, who were men of ability, Wang and Káo, assumed command of the armed force which the eloquence of Li had called into existence. Wang possessed military genius, and rivalled his predecessor in all gifts of speech. The inflated annals of the Nenuphar declare that the army which followed these leaders was as the grains of sand upon the sea-shore, that at their approach the imperial troops fled in fear and terror. It belongs to sober history that the rebels seized the capital, and forced their way into the palace, and it is probable that if the two generals could have agreed, and if their soldiers had been trained in obedience, they would have established a new dynasty. As it was, Wang and Káo were beheaded, and the former is recognized as a saint and martyr by all who hold the creed of the Nenuphar. His death demands revenge, and the duty descends to all succeeding time. This audacious insurrection led to stringent measures of repression and greater vigilance, which made it necessary for the followers of Wang to suppress for the time being their militant character, and hide their political designs, as their founder had done, under the mask of a religious profession. At the beginning of the reign of Hien-fung (1850) the "Religion of Nenuphar" again had recourse to arms, under a leader who called himself a descendant of the Ming dynasty, and demanded his inheritance. He obtained possession of the principal towns of Kiang-nan, and caused himself to be proclaimed as the sovereign of the Celestial Empire. His pretensions were believed by many, and the literates in great numbers espoused his cause, until they were undeceived by the junction of his forces with the disreputable brigands who were laying waste the provinces of Ho-nan and of Canton. The men of the "Religion of the Nenuphar" were again worsted, but once more in the reign of the same unwarlike prince they raised the standard of disorder, and had at least the pleasure of committing depredation and murder on an extended scale, although their efforts had no lasting success. In 1861, the throne was occupied by a child of seven years of age, Tung-che, and the irrepressible Nenuphar profited

by the embarrassment of the Court. They assembled to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand, and for more than a year they were able to disconcert all the efforts of one hundred thousand imperial troops. At last they were defeated and dispersed by the Tartar Prince Sain-Ko-Ling-Sin, or Seng-Wang, whom, however, they contrived to put to death. The young Emperor, inspired, we may suppose, by the council of the Regency, was determined to make an example, and sent orders to his generals to catch and send to him alive the rebel chiefs Wang and Káo, sons of the martyrs of the same name, slain in the reign of Táo-Kwang. The order would have presented some difficulty to European officers, but the Chinese are ingenious by nature. The command was explicit, and disobedience would have been punished by death; but it never so much as entered into the mind of any one concerned to think of disobeying. Undoubtedly it was difficult to catch the two leaders alive when they did not choose to be caught, but then it was exceedingly easy to convince the Emperor by ocular proof that they were dead, and that his orders had been carried out to the limit of physical possibility, for even the Celestial monarch could not find fault with his servants for not slaying the already slain. They informed his Majesty with many expressions of respectful regret that Wang had been killed a month before the order came, and that it was no longer possible to find even the mortal remains of the culprit. Káo would have been forwarded in person according to order, but most unluckily they had cut off his head just a few hours too soon, and all that remained to be done was to send it at once for his Imperial Highness to behold. The head of some poor wretch who had to die in place of the vanished Káo went up to Court in an iron cage, escorted by five hundred horsemen. Our author saw the head on its way through Shien-Chien, but could not affirm or deny that it was Káo's, and presumably the young Emperor was equally incapable of settling so delicate an affair of identification. The members of the sect declare that both Káo and Wang are still alive, and are preaching a fresh rebellion. However this may be, those who know Chinese manners are of opinion that as the two chiefs in any case are officially dead, they will not be molested as long as it is possible to leave them alone. Our author speaks from his own experience when he says that the Government very much prefers a little quiet persecution of

Christians to a campaign against the descendants of the White Water Lily conspirators.

The constitution of this strange confederation deserves special study. It bears a close resemblance in some respects to the secret societies of Europe, but there are several essential differences. The candidate in the first preparatory stage takes an oath of the true masonic type, invoking awful curses on his own head, if he should ever divulge the hidden mysteries of the craft, or prove unfaithful to his engagements. The engagements to which he binds himself with such solemnity are nothing less than to believe whatever he is taught, and to do whatever he is bid—that blind obedience which the Catholic Church holds in abhorrence, obedience without a conscience clause. Nothing can be more violent as far as the words may go, but, let it be observed, the fulfilment of the curses is left to some superior power, and the betrayal of the secret is not supposed to justify the assassination of the offender by one of his brethren deputed for the purpose.

The object being the subversion of authority as such, the most desirable candidates are those who, having nothing to lose and everything to gain by an upsetting of social order, may be presumed to entertain no covert sympathies for those in power. The literates are much too respectable to be welcome, so that, although they are not declared ineligible, they have little chance of promotion. Our author knew one of this class, clever and enterprising, who at the end of ten years of membership was not even a decurion. Women, for the very reason that they are kept in deep subjection in China, are exalted by the Nenuphar for the sake of contradicting the existing condition of things and asserting the principle of insubordination. Our lady claimants have much to learn before they can overtake their sisters of the Nenuphar. A married woman can only become a member of this most curious of institutes by taking an oath to conceal the fact from her husband unless he is already aggregated himself. When both husband and wife have been enrolled, superior authority even in their own house appertains to the one first admitted to the Nenuphar. This arrangement is so flattering to feminine vanity, that the association has no adherents more devoted than these fair enthusiasts, who are ready to be turned into *pétroleuses* on an emergency, while their ordinary services are usefully bestowed in winning over young girls by all the arts of persua-

sion. These novices are carefully trained in the principles of the association, and under the keen supervision of their vigilant instructresses are seldom found unfaithful to their vow of secrecy. The ranks are systematically recruited by reinforcements of children who are waylaid and secured by regular agents employed for the purpose. The Christian missionaries are often accused of stealing children, but the real offenders are strolling players, acrobats, and performers of all kinds, who supply both their own profession and the "Religion of the Nenuphar" by this very simple and very nefarious process.

About a year ago [says our author] I was passing through Kiáo-Ho, and while I was dining at an inn there, I saw some twenty-five or thirty children brought into the courtyard under the care of two men of fifty years old or more. The age of these children, which I set down at an average of thirteen or fourteen years, their dress made of the same material, their whole behaviour roused my curiosity. Is it a school taking a walk? It may be that. Yet the men in charge look like anything rather than schoolmasters. Their emaciation and a kind of careless uncouthness in their gait, strangely contrasting with the stiff and starched demeanour of the genuine pedagogues of the Celestial Empire, together with an indescribable easy-going air of indifference, forbade me to class them among the literates. . . . I called the waiter or, to give him his proper name, the sauce-purveyor (Pào-tang): "To what class in society do these children belong?" I asked him. "Oh, but do you not see what they are?" Pào-tang replied. "They are players, to be sure, comic actors, some of them sold by their parents, but most of them stolen, and none of them able to guess where they come from."

The stealers of children are careful to choose those who are too young to carry away with them inconvenient reminiscences of the place of their birth. There are wretches always on the look out for stray children, who are picked up anywhere, kept safe till nightfall, then hurried away under cover of the darkness, and finally transported to some far distant province of the Empire, where they are brought up in the tenets and ways of the Nenuphar, to carry on its traditions, and to treat the young children of the rising generation as they were treated themselves in their melancholy childhood. The Chinese police have a happy knack of never being on the spot where their presence would be useful, so that they very rarely catch the miscreants at their unholy trade;² and when by chance or unwonted vigi-

² Englishmen in Shanghai a very short time ago believed that there was no foundation in fact for the stories about stolen children. "One proclamation distinctly

lance they do, for a wonder, contrive to light upon an infant-snatcher in the active perpetration of his calling, their interference is not very dreadful. The culprit knows well that he will find mercy in a Chinese tribunal by incriminating "the hateful barbarians" of the West, and in his Nenupharian code of morality it is a lighter fault to accuse the innocent than to violate the oath of secrecy. For this double reason, from without and from within, instead of disclosing the real circumstances of his position, he declares that he has been employed by the Christians. Such an announcement is soothing to the national vanity, and falls in with the patriotic views of the magistrate. It may not suffice to earn a reward for the delinquent, but it will, at least, procure for him a considerable mitigation of punishment, and in the end he is sure to escape with a penalty miserably inadequate to the enormity of his crime. So justice works in China.

No great movement can succeed without organization, and organization involves obedience to authority. Long continued anarchy in the social order is nearly as impossible as a permanent state of chaos in the material universe. Therefore, obeying the imperious law of necessity, the authority-hating Nenuphar which exists for the dissemination of ideas of rebellion promotes insubordination abroad by cultivating strict discipline at home. Each province, taken according to the ancient distribution of the Empire, has its King and its royal palace. These Kings are elected by universal suffrage. They have under them presidents of justice, and these again have under them chiefs of sections. All the offices except the highest are in the gift of the King, and practically fall to those whom he finds it his interest to conciliate, that is to say, those who can pay him best. Père Leboucq was well acquainted with one of these royal personages, from whom, on occasion of his first visit, he received a kindly welcome. He was an old man, fat and comfortable, but of considerable intelligence, especially in things appertaining to increase of income and widening of dominion. In

endorsed the accusation put forth against the Catholics of employing men to steal children for purposes of mutilation, and expressed the strongest determination to root out the 'malevolent demons and restore peace to the locality.' Two men were actually executed on a charge of kidnapping. Yet Tsen-kwo-fan subsequently admitted that kidnapping existed only in the popular imagination—for not a single complaint of such an occurrence had been ever laid before the magistrates" (*A Retrospect of Political and Commercial Affairs in China during the five years 1868 to 1872*, reprinted from the *North China Herald*, Shanghai, 1873, p. 48).

fifteen or twenty years he had acquired much property in land, and the amount of his less visible investments was believed to be larger than prudence could permit him to avow. It is one of the duties of a King of the Water Lily to keep a large supply of money in his cellars for immediate service in the next insurrection. The King, on his birthday, receives visits of ceremony after nightfall from his faithful subjects, who, when the rest of mankind are involved in slumber, steal noiselessly in long files through the streets and lanes, each separate visitor carrying with him some present to gladden the royal heart. When disciples of the Nenuphar are converted to Christianity, they blush to remember how they were once the ready dupes of an imposture so gross and transparent.

Although this association, for prudential reasons, professes to be a religious sect, it does not trouble its members with inconvenient dogmas. They are told to put faith in one only divinity, Wu-sang-lao-Mu, or the Old Mother without beginning, but to conform themselves in external worship to the practices prevailing in their part of the country, and to recognize any number of gods and goddesses rather than betray their great *arcanum*. They are also told that there is a future life where the associates who have submitted to great sacrifices in the sacred cause of universal rebellion will receive large compensation, and where the betrayers of the secret will be severely punished. This doctrine was assiduously preached at first in the general interests of the Nenuphar, and then by less devoted ministers for their own peculiar profit. The preachers (men of light) first found their way to the hearts of many hearers among the simple country folk, and then traded on their credulity in almost the same manner as our own spirit-rappers do.

A member of the Chinese sect goes to inquire in what category of the dead his father, or mother, or sister, or brother, has been enrolled. The answer depends upon how much he can or will pay for the advancement of the dear departed.

The Ming-jen (clair-voyant) puts on his robe of office, and, after some moments of silence and recollection, begins the ceremony known as the Yun-ki (renovation of air). Kneeling on a couch, with eyes shut, he heaves three sighs, loud and long, to purify the inner man; then he lifts his right hand three several times from his breast to his forehead, and executes rapid passes across with intricate convolutions which would make our mesmerizers jealous. Upon the termination of these breathings and signs the Ming-jen converses with the Old Mother without a

beginning . . . discovers the soul of the dead person . . . and is prepared to make revelations to the sorrowing family.

Some years ago, when I was staying at an inn in Jen-Kieou, a young man of refined appearance, who might be about eighteen years of age, came to the room where my catechist was, and said without more ado that he wanted an answer to a religious difficulty: "I know you preach the religion of the Master of Heaven: I for my part, to this day, have had the misfortune, with all my relations, to belong to the Nenuphar. My father spent some of his money in buying worthless titles and dignities. My mother died of grief some weeks ago. It devolved on me, the youngest of the family, to go and consult the seer. . . . I felt no kind of confidence, . . . but to be brief, I went off to ask how it fared with a soul so dear to us all. The Ming-jen fell to his devotions, and went through the ceremonial of the Yun-ki, but with no result. He stood up again without having any information to give me. 'I see clearly,' he said, 'a crowd of souls, but there is no chance of distinguishing your mother's.' Then with solemn demeanour, speaking slowly and in magisterial tones: 'Young man, you are rich. Possibly you forgot that to testify your sorrow and regret for a mother who has spent so much upon you, something more is wanted than words and tears?'

"I promised him at once ten thousand sapeks [one guinea]. He began over again the Yun-ki. . . . This time he thought he had a glimpse of the departed one, but he could not say exactly how she was dressed, or what place she held among the dead. I threw in another ten thousand sapeks. The enlightened beholder saw that the thing was growing serious. The twenty thousand sapeks took effect. He beamed with delight. He saw the soul of my mother radiant in beauty, arrayed in robes brighter than human tongue could tell, moving in a garden among flowers of a thousand gorgeous tints."

Chang-Tsen-Siu—so the young man was called—was half convinced of the fooleries of the Nenuphar when he entered the inn, and he left it a convert to the faith. In his village there are now a hundred fervent neophytes, all former disciples of the Old Mother without a beginning.

The Chinese are a peace-loving people for the most part, but the delusive promises of the Nenuphar have produced so great an impression on the country population, that in the great rebellion of 1861 and 1862 the sympathies of the villagers were conspicuously on the side of the rebels. Père Leboucq thinks that it is a mistaken notion that the Nenuphar is the chief enemy against which our missionaries will have to contend. The great mass of the followers of that society are only slightly acquainted with its ulterior purposes, and even these purposes at their worst are not as bad as they might be. The Chinese

Freemasons do not seek, like their cousins of Continental Europe, to tear up virtue and religion by the roots, and it must be conceded as partly tending to excuse their rebellious inclinations that they have not a little reason for disliking authority in the only shape in which it has ever been displayed to their eyes and intelligence.

When a member turns Christian a vigorous effort is made to convince him of the folly of such a step, but there the opposition ends. In ten years in the single district of Ho-Kien-Fu, five or six thousand associates of the Nenuphar received Baptism, and no explosion of wrath or show of violence followed the defection. Even the chiefs of the sect show no bitterness against the Christians; and, if they did, they would not be able to prevent a large number of conversions among the simple folk. Therefore Père Leboucq is of opinion that the Nenuphar, instead of constructing the principal barrier across the line of march, offers a large and open field to missionary enterprise. "The Water Lily," say the neophytes, "is fading fast, and will soon be nowhere except in the lakes and ponds."

While the secret society of the Nenuphar, partly by sustaining energy and earnestness, and partly by failing to fulfil its promises and thereby opening the eyes of its sincere adherents, has had in many instances a beneficial influence in spite of its programme of malevolence, some of the professedly philanthropic institutions have degenerated into conspiracies for swindling. The devices for obtaining money may provoke a smile by the cool effrontery of the proceedings, but the picture is melancholy enough. Even good intentions are quickly paralyzed by the influence of a false religion, which checks and spoils right impulses not less surely than it darkens the intelligence. These confraternities in their best days were only a poor parody of similar institutes existing among nations which are or have been Christian, for charity in any true sense of the word is a thing unknown to the moral codes of the pagan world.

The Fire Brigade seems to have been really meant in the first instance to render kind service to citizens in danger and affliction. In its present state we have it thus described:

The corps of firemen in Europe presents itself as the very ideal of devotedness; the *gendarmérie* alone might possibly dispute the prize with it. In China, also, the principal consideration which some three thousand four hundred years ago led to the formation of this society must have been a philanthropic purpose. Moreover, the most authentic

national annals and traditions furnish forth a large number of instances of courage and disinterested zeal which give some lustre to the Fire Brigade of the Celestial Empire.

At the commencement the association admitted into its ranks only men of acknowledged good character and respectable position. The rules of the society, framed to promote in its members the love of duty and the spirit of self-sacrifice, contained wise provisions regarding those who received injury or met their death in harness. The wounded remained at the charge of the company until they were perfectly restored to health. If any associate lost his life over his work, all his family—that is to say, his father, mother, wife, and children—were supported for twenty years by the society, which had no settled income, but was able by voluntary contributions to supply the wants of its orphans and dependents with a liberal hand.

At the present day in China, as in many other lands, the state of things has changed for the worse. The men of the fire brigade, unfaithful to the glorious memories of bygone generations, are little better than plunderers in peaceful garb, taking advantage of other men's misfortunes to secure an easy life and enjoy themselves without restraint. To gain admission into their ranks it is no longer necessary to present a certificate of good behaviour, or to be reputed honest; it suffices, or, to speak more exactly, it is indispensable, that the applicant should be impudent, daring, and unscrupulous.

A rich banker, who lost his house and his money three years since, remarked to me a few days after the fire which ruined him: "It was an unlucky thing that I had my business in a town possessing a fire brigade. Anywhere else my house might have been on fire, but my money and my furniture would not have been carried off."

There are few towns or centres of commerce which do not contain two or three hundred firemen. The too famous city of Tien-Tsin [the scene of the martyrdoms of 1870] possesses in its own sole right some five thousand of them, all recruited from the lowest grade of social life. The firemen of Tien-Tsin have the reputation, well-earned I fancy, of lighting more fires than they put out (pp. 125—127).

These crafty knaves, disguised as public servants, are farther removed from truth and honesty than the recognized highwaymen and pickpockets, who have a good deal of their own way in China. Père Leboucq, in the opening sentence of his last letter seems to deprecate the harsh judgment of those who say that the country swarms with thieves, but his subsequent account of his experiences tends to confirm rather than remove that impression. All kinds of robbery, from pillage to pilfering, are carried on with scientific division of labour, and are winked at by the magistrates. Our knights of the road, famous in romance, were not as courteous by many degrees as the Chinese

"Keen Swords" of the present day. Our light-fingered gentry are less playful in their approaches, and much less amiable when they are caught, than the rogues who belong to the Celestial "Retail Jugglers." The most daring robbers are the members of two very original Mussulman corporations. Ten or a dozen young men came to a roadside inn where Père Leboucq was sheltering from a shower of rain. They were received most politely, like old acquaintances, and no fault could be found with their appearance or behaviour. They ordered some refreshment in haste, paid for it like honest men, and departed with many civil words on both sides. When they were gone, the landlord, being questioned about them, after many cautious glances around, said, dropping his voice, that these young travellers were Mahometans of Che-Li, who supported themselves by an annual expedition to the silver mines of Ho-nan, where they did a little mining on their own account and returned with full hands. About two hundred of these gentlemen, he said, had passed that way already, and something like the same number would probably follow. On their march they behave with exemplary decorousness. Certainly he could not approve, he was careful to add, the free use they made of the property of other men, but that was not his affair. The Che-Li amateur miners call themselves by the modest name of "Carriers." There is another society of Mussulman purveyors which rejoices in a yet more humble name, and goes to work with even more amazing coolness. One of the crying evils of China is the monopoly of salt. The adventurous company of the "Salt-Merchant-Donkeys" breaks down the invidious barrier, and procures salt by the simple method of taking it with the strong hand. Each member provides himself with two donkeys and four stout sacks. They form themselves into parties sufficiently numerous to make resistance hopeless, and go with the calmness which befits high enterprise to carry off from some selected store as much salt as the united donkeys have strength to move. If the store-keepers are civil the invaders do not lay hands on them, but if they show fight they are tied up and flogged. The cavalcade departs with its ill-gotten salt, and the donkey drivers are regarded in all the villages through which they pass as public benefactors, every woman coming to meet them with her salt-box to be refilled. The itinerant venders can afford to sell at a low price what has cost them nothing but a little danger more imaginary than

real, and the bargain is satisfactory to both the contracting parties. The owner of the salt may weep and be angry, but there is no sympathy for the sufferings of a salt monopolist. Each association has a patron chosen from among the renowned dead. The patron of the salt-lifters has a very indirect claim upon their devotion. He is the Minister who first imposed a tax on salt. To him is referred the origin of the grievance which made the labours of the Donkey Club indispensable. It might be supposed that the choice was made facetiously, but there is a solemnity in the worship of Kwang-chung which makes it necessary to reject any such hypothesis.

Pickpockets have a family likeness all the world over, but the Chinese practitioners are distinguished by the readiness with which they restore the "missing" property to one who knows how to put them in a good humour. Père Leboucq's experiences are very amusing. He once sent off one of his Christians, a very old man, to Lien-chin, a town of many thieves, to hasten the arrival of some money and other things which were on their way. The old man went off in high spirits, convinced that age and experience like his own were beyond the reach of failure. At the end of several days he came back empty-handed, and gave rather a confused account of what he had been doing. It was clear, however, that he had actually had the money in his hands, and equally clear that it was in them no longer. Some young men had shown him great kindness and—the bag with its contents had disappeared. Père Leboucq, knowing something of Chinese customs, sent his head catechist, a man of education and refined manners to pay a state visit to a certain magistrate in the town where the old man had been robbed. The lost bag was soon found. The custom to which Père Leboucq owed the restoration of his property would seem to be a national peculiarity. The petty rogues of China like its greater malefactors form themselves into societies. The Sião-Lue (the company of artful dodgers) has branch establishments in all the great towns, and agents and correspondents scattered through the country. When it is to be introduced into any place the promoters of the new foundation begin by securing protectors among the leading citizens, for they know that if they are careful to avoid offending influential men they may steal as many little things as they like from ordinary people. They do not offer a share in their profits as the price of protection, for no gentleman could listen to such

proposals; but they promise to respect the friends of their patron, so that he will only have to tell them at any time that some property in which he is interested has disappeared, and it shall be promptly delivered to the owner. Père Leboucq knew one of these patrons of the Sião-Lue in Lien-chin and to him the catechist was sent to state the case and claim redress. He was received with overwhelming politeness. The great man, Khosain-Ye listened to the recital with growing anger: "What," said he, reddening with indignation at the tale of wrong, "do you tell me that your master who has crossed continents and oceans on his way to China has had his money taken here in Lien-chin! at my very door! By the faith of Kho, I will ferret it out. However, first," he said more quietly, "go back and ask him in what form he wishes to make the claim. Are the things regarded as stolen, or as having been lost by the carelessness of his servant?" Père Leboucq preferred his suit in the second style, and within twenty-four hours an old crone, supporting herself with difficulty on a crutch, brought him the parcel which she had rescued with great risk to herself on the bank of the canal in the hope of finding the owner. She required of course some little remuneration for her devotion to duty, but the cost of recovery did not amount to a tenth part of the sum recovered. If the claim had been made by process of law, the whole town would have felt itself insulted, the plaintiff would have earned the contempt of all men of culture, and no particle of the missing property would have been discovered. Once more it must be confessed that the laughableness of such scenes is on the surface, and that there are depths of melancholy underneath. Unregenerate human nature is a repulsive study. Selfishness reigns supreme wherever the Spirit of Christ is not a living force, or has not had, at least in happier days gone by, some part in moulding national character and framing laws. The absence of all sympathy for human beings as such, independently of the claims of friendship or family, the utter disregard of the feelings and rights of strangers, the readiness to inflict a great evil upon others for the sake of avoiding a slight inconvenience to themselves, or procuring a trifling advantage, these have been the characteristics of pagan civilization in its highest developments. High-born Roman ladies could find pleasure in watching the agonies of timid girls flung to lions and tigers to be devoured, and men who lived for self-indulgence could order a slave to be crucified

for having spoiled a favourite dish in the cooking. It is to be feared that a Chinese official in any rank would seldom hesitate to put an innocent man to death, if the alternative were the loss of the Emperor's favour, and the only wonder perhaps should be that they are not worse after centuries of degrading superstition than we find them. There is a foundation of nobleness in their character, and it displays itself in their power to recognize a high ideal of virtue. This must be shown by an example.

There are many different legends about the origin of the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of the virgin saint of Tai-ngan, Père Leboucq selects the one which seems to him the best accredited. Long, long ago, lived Si-Hoa (Flower of the West), a princess as beautiful as she was good. On a certain day she announced to the King her father, Kao-iang, her fixed resolve to refuse all offers of marriage. He attached very little importance to her words, thinking, as many parents have thought since, that a little wholesome distraction was what she chiefly needed, and that so foolish a fancy would pass away of its own accord when she had seen a little more of the great world. Therefore he carried her with him on a distant military expedition. But it fell out otherwise than he had contemplated. When the young lady of seventeen arrived at the mountains of Tai-ngan, so ardent a desire of spending her life in those dear solitudes took possession of her soul that she made up her mind on the spot. There she would watch and pray far from the steps of men. The King was an indulgent father, and very religious, but this unexpected declaration was more than he could bear with equanimity. He swore in his anger that never daughter of his should so degrade herself. The life she proposed to lead might do for hermits of humble birth, but it was not by any means adapted to the dignity of a lady of her lofty lineage. He was compelled to submit by a miraculous interposition. A bright light shone around Si-Hoa while she listened bathed in tears, and the good King, yielding to an authority higher than his own, consented that his child should be the bride of Heaven. He chose from among the officers of his court, one whose goodness and loyalty he knew by long experience, and appointed him guardian of the young recluse. Then he continued his march, from which he never returned, being murdered by his brother. Si-Hoa in her grief plunged into still deeper retirement. The fame of her sanctity travelled far, and many pious women came to see her, but her faithful

protector allowed no one to disturb her devotions in the Grotto of the Peach-trees. After twenty years of solitude she fell sick, and, knowing that the end was near, she begged her guardian to carry her to the hill-top that she might breathe her last in a pagoda which had been erected there, but which was still untenanted by any deity. There, she said, it was the will of the gods that she should die. She died calmly with her face turned to the west. A great concourse of people from the country round came to pray to her, and burn aromatic herbs in honour of the "Incomparable Virgin of the Mountain of Peace." As they descended the hill on their return in a dense multitude, crowded between two rugged walls, a fragment of rock came crashing towards them, leaving no chance of escape. They called upon their new protectress, and the rolling stone was stopped in its headlong course. Many pagodas were built, and a pilgrimage was established. These events are set down as having happened about two thousand five hundred years before Christ. Such assignments of date have very slight historical value, and it is almost impossible not to recognize in the Flower of the West, who among other titles has been called, Tien-chi-Shing-Mu (Holy Mother of Heaven), a thin and faint reflection of the Immaculate Mother, dear to all who truly honour the Word made Flesh. The mystery of the Incarnation, which is the chief stumbling-block to the rationalists of China, is readily accepted by the votaries of the virgin of Tai-ngan. When they have been told that there is in very truth a Virgin Queen of Heaven, far holier than any heroine of their traditions, but still only a creature like themselves, and so far removed from all desire of claiming the honour due to God alone that no greater insult could be offered to her than such idolatry, they open their minds to that new revelation which breaks upon them like light long hidden behind gross vapours, but never quite withdrawn. The spiritual darkness of the poor pagans of China is not so dense as the cold mist of midnight which wraps in its dismal folds many a learned professor in the great cities of Europe. It is better to believe in many gods than to make man his own god. It is better to try to chase the devils from the fields in seed time with most ridiculous ceremonies, than to live in the dangerous delusion that there are no unseen workers of mischief, no devils, no sins, no punishment, no responsibility, no free will. Père Leboucq's letters furnish the material for many useful comparisons.

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Passages from the Life of a Yorkshire Lady.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER XV.

LIEGE.

NO sooner had the first blessing of the Head of the Church rested on the young Institute than its effects speedily became visible. Father Lohner says¹ that it was from the large number of those who were received into the Congregation of the English Virgins that it became necessary for the preservation of discipline that other houses should be founded. This may have been one of Mary Ward's reasons for seeking to transfer a portion of the St. Omer community elsewhere, and to make another foreign settlement, all the minds who came to her not being fitted to be sent to work in England in those perilous times. But she had besides other and as important reasons. An object doubtless very prominently before her, was to plant the good seed in other places, that it might bring forth fruit to God's glory, and that the Institute by its propagation and fruitfulness might win for itself the hoped for confirmation, and with it a place among the ranks of the Church's commissioned workers.

Barbara Ward gives a short account, in a few lines only, of the foundation of the new house. Mary had never returned to the same degree of health which she had possessed before the two severe attacks of measles which had twice brought her to the edge of the grave. The consumptive tendency which ensued after the last attack had never left her, though she had been sufficiently raised up from it to leave her bed and resume her duties. The temporary strength which had been granted her in her last visit to England, had been consumed in her many toils there, as fast as she had gained it, so that she returned to

¹ *Gottseliges Leben*, p. 82.

St. Omer in as exhausted a state as when she left it. It cannot be doubted also that her great austerities had told upon a frame so far from naturally robust, as she herself has said, that she had from this cause doubted originally whether she were fit for conventual life. She acknowledged to others that these austerities had injured her health, and her friend and first English biographer, so often quoted, tells of her that "at the age of twenty-six she was so attenuated that the physicians judged that by the course of nature she could not live five years." With all this, it is not to be wondered at that symptoms of a confirmed consumption soon reappeared, and change of air was again necessary from the humid atmosphere of St. Omer. Barbara Ward relates that the Abbess of Gravelines, whom Mary was accustomed to visit, recommended the waters of Spa, and this falling in well with the plans Mary was forming, she was prevailed on to proceed there in the summer of 1616.

Mary's mind was already turned towards Liège as a suitable place for establishing the new colony she was intending to plant. Since the death of Father Roger Lee, there was no one upon whose advice and counsel she could personally depend. Her letter, in which she had so urgently entreated him to point out to her some one who should succeed him in the care of her soul, and whom she should obey in his place, had either arrived too late, or he was too ill to answer her, for we do not find that she ever made another vow of obedience such as she had made to him. From different parts of Mary's meditations subsequently, of which notes remain in her own handwriting, it would appear that she was afterwards uncertain whether it were God's will that she should bind herself in this way again. Though she loved the grace of obedience, and had practised it with great perfection, yet she saw that her vow had been a cause of great troubles both to herself and others, though God had overruled and even worked good through them. Thus she says, apparently in the year 1619: "I will accustom myself to submit my will and judgment especially to him that hears my confession, and those of our company with whom I live at that time, so much as may stand with God's greater glory."² To this she adds in another paragraph: "This purpose I made forth of some affliction I then felt lest my will were the cause I sinned so much; and I could not find where to put it out of God, with security to myself or without danger of hindering this work.

² Nymphenburg Manuscripts. happened: "some beginning our Chief

For such reasons," &c. The reasons she does not set down. Again, during the Spiritual Exercises, she says: "*Desirous* to obey, without anxiety and no stay, but in a want of security whether God would have it so or no, which found, I resign with ease and *content*. Perchance I should fail in true practice if well tried." The italics here as elsewhere in her meditations are Mary Ward's.

But though not seeking to bind herself by so strong a tie, Mary felt the necessity of the best spiritual counsel both for herself and her companions in a work becoming daily more arduous as the size of the congregation, as it might now be fairly called, increased. The Jesuit Fathers had just begun their new foundation at Liège, and Father Gerard was the Rector. These circumstances doubtless influenced Mary's choice, for not only his own great merits, but his personal friendship and high esteem for Father Lee, and his knowledge through him of all the details respecting the origin of the Institute, fitted this Father more than any other to give her the help of which she stood in need, and to undertake the spiritual direction of those who were to be united with her in the new enterprize. We do not know upon whose counsel she finally acted in deciding upon forming a settlement at Liège, but it may have been that of Father Gerard himself, his position as founder and Rector of the Jesuit College there giving him the power of either encouraging the plan or the contrary.

On the way to Spa, where she arrived in the middle of the summer, Mary and her companions stopped at Brussels and had an interview with the Infanta, commending her new project to the kind offices of that Princess. Of this audience, Mary's friend and travelling companion says: "In her passing by Brussels, she received singular honour and expression of affection from the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, as she formerly had and did ever on all occasions." Mary seems to have remained for a short time at Spa to drink the waters, but meantime was not idle with respect to the new foundation. The distance of Spa from Liège was not too great for the inhabitants of the latter city to take advantage of its medicinal waters for their health, thus giving Mary an opportunity to become acquainted with them and to interest them in her work and Institute. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus from Liège also laboured there. Her sister Barbara thus narrates what happened: "Some eight years after our beginning, our Chief

Superior came to the country of Liège to the Spa for her health. One principal intention was to establish a house of ours at the aforesaid town of Liège before her return, which she effected in manner following. After her usual custom and wonted proceeding in such businesses, she discreetly procured some gentlewomen of the better sort in the city to entreat herself and other principal fathers (they not perceiving) for the effecting her desires."³

We cannot but trace here the force of Mary's personal and winning holiness and sweetness of character, which thus took the hearts of others, as it were, by storm. For Liège was not altogether destitute of religious who undertook the education of children at this time. The Ursulines were already there, established by Strecheus, the suffragan bishop, in 1614, at first as a lay congregation, and the Sepulchrines also had schools in their convents. They were not, however, sufficient for the wants of the city, and the inhabitants received Mary and her companions with great warmth. Within a year, Barbara Ward says, "a complete College was finished, with church and schools and what else necessary, which was in 1617." This establishment was not far from the house of the Jesuit Fathers, on one of the heights which nearly surround the picturesque city of Liège, and near the beautiful old Church of St. Martin, still one of the points of interest to visitors, and especially to the devout, though not a trace remains of the house of the Canon Thenis, in which Mary Ward and her Sisters were settled.

But though Mary thus won her way and smoothed the difficulties in her path by the charm of her own gentleness and self-abnegation, it must not be supposed that she met with no hindrances from the characters and wills of others, and the opposition of those who misunderstood her and her work. That these followed her to Liège, is plain from some notes which she wrote down as a matter of blame concerning herself, and which are dated, "Saturday, July 9, 1616, the Spaw. Upon occasion of others' not concurrence, sadness for some hours, solicitude, lack of confidence in God, unquiet resolutions to do what I liked, succeed as it would, yet is for no vain end, but only for the glory of God and propagation of such." She was going to confession, and she adds "immediately after, quietness; that difficulty seen did not disturb; that thing desired was still desired, and an efficacy and readiness to effect it, but without

³ Nymphenburg Manuscripts.

solicitude; things contrary disliked, but without anxiety. One is ready to do or not do, yet indifferently resigned whatsoever happens; one seeth the danger of adverse things, but without fear, anxiety, or trouble, a quiet confidence that God will do His will in confusion. One is free from all, and desires only one, which is to love God, and here one remains free and contented: but in this one they are uncertain that they do love Him. One is not now inclined to vainglory or pride; they see their sins, and account themselves for what they see; they find now, with clarity much more than at other times, the truth of their ignorance and inability to conceive in what state those souls are that they call saints."

Meanwhile the approbation of ecclesiastical superiors had to be obtained. The Prince-Bishop of Liège was at this time Ferdinand, brother of Maximilian the First, Elector of Bavaria. Besides the see of Liège, he presided over four other bishoprics, those of Cologne, Munster, Hildesheim, and Paderborn, he therefore resided mostly in Germany at Bonn, where his presence was needed to defend the Catholic cause against the Protestants,⁴ and he rarely visited Liège. The city was favoured, however, by long visits from the Nuncio of Lower Germany, at the present period, Antonio Albergati, Bishop of Bisceglia, for the Cathedral and Collegiate Clergy and most of the religious of Liège were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, who governed them by his Legate. Neither of these prelates was in the city at the time of Mary's first visit. But Mary had recourse to her old friend, Bishop Blaise, to effect what she required, desiring her Sisters at St. Omer to request a letter from him to Ferdinand in her behalf. He had known her now for many years and could speak confidently both as to her merits and that of the work under her care, which he had received every opportunity of watching and testing, and he was not sparing therefore in his commendations.

Bishop Blaise's letter was not dated until February, 1617, and preceded his own public letter of approval of the Institute, by which he constituted its members as religious, which followed that to the Prince-Bishop in a few days. He writes in Latin as follows:

⁴ The Thirty Years' War was just beginning in Germany. Ferdinand's character is thus given by a contemporaneous historian: "He was a Prince noted for his zeal for religion, his piety, his kindness towards his subjects, his clemency to his adversaries, and by his gentleness and affability towards all." He had a great love for religious congregations and encouraged their increase in his diocese.

"To the Most Serene Prince, Ferdinand, Duke of Bavaria, S.R.I., Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, Prince-Bishop of Liège, &c.

"Most Serene Prince,—English Virgins, distinguished for nobility and piety, who abide here with us, have begged of me to commend to your Serenity their Mother and Sisters who have lately journied hence to the city of Liège for the sake of better health; and this indeed I do most willingly, both on account of the singular example of piety and most religious behaviour by which they have bound to themselves the minds of our citizens in a wonderful way, and also because our Most Holy Lord, in consideration of their pious endeavours, has not long since commended them to me with most earnest words, and lastly, because I think I shall do a thing most pleasing to your Serenity, if you learn from me on this occasion what kind of guests you have in your city, and how worthy of the favour and patronage of your Serenity, especially if they betake themselves to teaching others. And this, indeed, it is my intention here to promote, that the fruit may pass to the nobles of our country, and so the good work may be more acceptable to the Divine Majesty in that it furthers the advantage and salvation of a greater number. If your Serenity were dwelling in Liège I should think this commendation unnecessary. For the modesty, gravity, and religion of these Virgins themselves, and chiefly of Mrs. Mary who presides over the rest, would completely commend them to your benignity, without other testimony, but it will suffice to have intimated these things in few words, that I may satisfy a duty of charity and my devotion to your Serenity. Which may Almighty God long preserve safe for the Christian state. St. Omer, Feb. 2, 1617.

"Your Serenity's most devoted servant,

"F. JACOB,

"Bishop of St. Omer."

It has been already seen that Mary had good reason to lament over "the not concurrence of some," which she writes of at Spa. From other sources we learn the same thing. The words of the apostate spies, so much employed by the Governments of Elizabeth and James, who invented where they could not collect, and retailed evil concerning the Catholics, are sometimes of use in history. For feigning themselves true children of the Church, they gained access where otherwise they would

have been shut out. When truth was convenient they used it, so that by their means information has come down to us, especially in matters of personal history, which but for them would often have been lost. Of this mixed nature is a rare pamphlet called *The Spanish Pilgrim*, not wholly unknown to some of our readers, printed in 1630, by James Wadsworth the spy, who thus writes of Mary Ward and her difficulties and her new house at Liège. "These three several ranks and orders aforesaid [of the Jesuits] are grown to a faction, about the Jesuitrices or wandering nuns, some allowing, some disliking them utterly. This Order of nuns began some twelve years since, by the means of Mistress Mary Ward and Mistress Twitty, two English gentlewomen, who observe the Ignatian habit, and go clad very like to the Jesuits, in this only differing from other nuns.⁶ They walk abroad in the world and preach the Gospel to their sex in England and elsewhere. The first that induced this Order of nuns was Father Gerard, then Rector of the English College at Liège, Father Flacke and Father Moore assisting him therein, but others oppugned them, as Fathers Singleton, Benefield [Bedingsfeld, generally called Father Silesdon], and Flood [Floyd], refusing to give the *ite prædicate*, but rather adjudging them to a retired and monastical life, whereupon there hath risen no small variance amongst them."⁶ The last named Father was perhaps Father Henry Floyd, who was for a year at St. Omer, and during many years in England. From another source we learn that "Father John Floyd," his brother, who was both at St. Omer and Louvain, and also "F. Gibbons," a learned and eminent Father, preacher for some time at St. Omer's College, and "Father Flacke, with others before and since the death of Father Lee, encouraged and exhorted the said company by sermons and otherwise."

But though the members of the Society of Jesus had always differed among themselves, concerning the new Institute, it does not appear that the General of the Society had hitherto discouraged those who supported it. In the autumn of the year 1616, on the contrary, and while therefore the new house of the Institute was in progress at Liège, he wrote, upon the request

⁶ The dress of Mary Ward and her companions during the early years of the Institute, will be seen in the portrait of the former from the original oil painting in the Convent of the English Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Augsburg, which will form the frontispiece of the first volume of her Life.

¹ P. 30.

which must have been forwarded to him thence, to one of the Fathers in England, to use his good offices for the payment of the dowry of one of the English Virgins. Both the act itself as well as the words of his letter show his approval of their work and way of life. The following is translated from an old copy of the letter, which is in Latin.

"Reverend Father in Christ,—Pax Christi,—Mrs. Mary Ward hopes that her purpose wherein she is striving to obtain the dowry of a certain person, who lives among the English Virgins, from her relations, may be much assisted by the charity and zeal of your Reverence. If this be so, I signify to your Reverence by these, that you will supply a great office of charity, if you will effect that the dowry which the relatives would have given to the Virgin if she had married, they would now give to her, as she has embraced a pious kind of life in which she has dedicated herself and all she has to the Divine service for procuring the salvation of souls. For I trust that that will not be less pleasing to God, and even more advantageous to the public good; and so that the assistance to be rendered in this business by your Reverence will be abundantly rewarded by the Divine Majesty. For the rest I commend myself to the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Reverence. Rome, October 11, 1616.

"Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

"MUTIUS VITELLESCHL."

A few notes remain in Mary Ward's hand,⁷ written during her retreat of 1616. The month is not stated, but having made the annual retreat just before All Saints of the preceding year, it is natural to conclude that the present one was made at Liège, and therefore with Father Gerard. The lowly opinion she entertained of herself may be seen by the following sentences. "Twenty times a day come as it were within a hair breadth of falling both into great and lesser sins, yet by God's mere goodness and providence brought back as it were to my former state without hurt. This compels a more evident dependency upon God, without Whom it seems one should not stand one moment; all confidence in oneself is gone were a soul never so proud before, and when I hear of any one who commits great sins in the world, I instantly am forced to fly to God,

⁷ Nymphenburg Manuscripts.

for without He will help, it seems nothing can hinder me from doing the like. That sentence is almost continually in my mind, especially upon the sight or hearing of any one's falls, that 'no man living,' &c. I wonder not at others' falls, but the greater they are, the more I admire God's goodness to me, looking back upon my many fore-passed doings." On the back of the page is written: "O my Lord, how liberal are You and how rich are they to whom You will vouchsafe to be a friend."

"I confessed now daily, when either my confessor could come to me, or my health would permit me to go to the Fathers' College, or that my confessor had occasion to come to our house."

Thus did Mary give back to God the praise for the marked success which had again attended her undertaking. Her friend Winefrid sums up the year at Liège in these few words: "After she had settled this house at Liège, where she did so dispose and order all things in schools and church as the town acknowledged great obligation, and the clergy vouchsafed to say they learned to do more exactly their functions and duty—thus settled as is said, she went again into England."

CHAPTER XVI.

"THEY ARE BUT WOMEN."

MARY WARD'S introductory lines to the scattered fragments which form the autobiography of her early years,¹ enable us to fix an approximate date for her next journey to England.

"I.H.S."

"I was commanded three or four years since by my confessor, Father Roger Lee, of the holy Society of Jesus, unto whom I had on my part vowed obedience, to set down in writing all that I could remember or call to mind of my life past, but through sloth and the difficulty I conceived in finding fit words for what I would express, I neglected to do it. Two years after (or thereabouts), which happened to be some few days before he blessedly departed this life, he gave me a more absolute charge to do it, and that before my going to England, or any other place where my life or liberty might be endangered, and

¹ Nymphenburg Manuscripts.

that I should leave it sealed up with our company here when I was to undertake any such journey. Since this last command it is more than a twelvemonth, and I am now of necessity to go for England, and therefore dare no longer defer it. Jesus, give me grace to set it down truly as it passed. This St. Emerantiana her day [January 23] upon which I began to live in this world, and am now of age thirty-three, in the year of our Lord 1617."

Mary must here mean, entering her thirty-third year, for her sister Barbara, writing in February, 1619, says distinctly: "Our Reverend Mother, the Chief Superior and founder of our Order, hath thirty-four years, of which she hath spent in religion thirteen." Mary proceeds: "I beseech all those (even for our Lord's love) that shall read these my faults, and the goodness of God towards me notwithstanding my unworthiness, that they judge not of anything here according to their own affections, but determine of all as the truth is; distinguishing the great and true difference betwixt God's preventing graces, His unmeasurable goodness, and the means afforded me to be wholly His, and my continual falls, unspeakable negligence, and imperfect concurrence with all such His favours; so shall you do justice, giving God what is His due, me my deserts. O all-seeing Goodness, the lover of truth and worker of justice, O Verity itself, preserve them from errors, rectify their judgments, perfect their knowledge, endue them with true——"

Here the manuscript breaks off suddenly, as in many of the other loose papers upon which these fragments are written. They were evidently begun at Liège, from the date Mary gives, for Bishop Blaise in his letter to Prince Ferdinand, written February 2, speaks of her being there. They bear the marks of being composed by her in the midst of a press of other occupations, such as her position, and the work of founding a house in a strange place, must have brought upon her. Interrupted or called away, the paper was pushed aside, and at the next leisure moment, when the necessity of fulfilling her task presented itself to her mind, if the few folded half-sheets were not at hand, another scrap was taken, perhaps to be left unfinished in the same manner. If she completed the narration beyond her sixteenth year, the manuscript, like those concerning the three subsequent foundations of which such scanty information remains, may have perished with the rest in the iron chest which Mary Cramlington so feelingly mourns over.

The "necessity" which Mary names of her going to England was partly perhaps occasioned by the pecuniary difficulties which about this time began to make themselves felt, consequent upon the delay in the payment of the dowries of the more newly arrived among her numerous companions. The fact of the Institute not being acknowledged by the Church, and the doubt, therefore, as to its permanency, had become a plea with relatives for withholding their money, and we shall find that Mary and those with her had frequently to suffer the straits of poverty from this cause. She hoped by her presence in England to allay the fears of their friends, and to prevail upon them to supply for these pressing needs. She had now not only Cardinal Lancellotti's letter to urge, but also Bishop Blaise's Pastoral, constituting the Institute as a religious body under his own immediate protection, and regarding with undoubted confidence the cheering promise which he mentions as held out by the Holy See, of future deliberations concerning its confirmation. This Pastoral must have been published while Mary was still at Liège. It is not on record what the indulgences were which it names as granted to the Institute by the Pope.

"Jacob Blasius, by the favour of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Omer, to all the faithful of Christ who shall see the presents, health in the Lord.

"Whereas the mode of living of the noble Virgins of England, dwelling together in this city, in promoting their own salvation and perfection and that of other females, which here with praise they are doing, has so much pleased His Holiness and the Sacred Congregation of Cardinals, Interpreters of the Council of Trent, that the most holy Lord Pope, with the said Cardinals, has not only willed that they should be especially recommended to us, but has also prescribed that the peculiar care and protection of them should be undertaken by us, and has commanded us to help them with all the assistance we can where need shall be, that in their so laudable Institute, furthered by the Divine aid, they may daily produce abundant fruit, to which end also His Holiness has granted to them peculiar indulgences out of the treasure of the Church. We, in order that we may be obedient to the Divine Goodness and the will and commands of our most holy Lord and the Sacred Congregation, and show to the said pious Virgins what favour we can, testify by the presents, that we not only by our own will (as even from the beginning until now), but now also by

command of the Apostolic See, take them into our protection, and that they shall have all our aid in all things as often as they shall ask or need it, as the holy Lord by the Sacred Congregation has enjoined, that whilst it shall be deliberated in the usual manner about the confirmation of this their Institute by the Apostolic See (which is promised to us in the said letters from the City), these pious Virgins themselves and all others may know that they enjoy the same favours, privileges, and protection from the Apostolic See as rising religious orders before their confirmation are wont to enjoy, and that they who shall devote themselves and their assistance to promoting this most useful Institute (which is recommended to us in the said letters, and for our part we shall afford), will do a thing most pleasing to the Sacred Congregation and so to our most holy Lord, and will have Christ the Lord, Whose interest here is concerned, a perpetual rewarder to their piety. Given and done at St. Omer, in our Episcopal Palace, under the impression of our seal, the subscription of our secretary, in the year of our Lord 1617, the 10th day of February."

Barbara Ward gives the reason which was outwardly assigned to criticizers and others for Mary's journey on this occasion to England, and gives another besides, which was probably the truest of all. Continuing her history of the Liège foundation, she says, "that being settled, she went into England under pretence of health, but the true cause was zeal and desire of gaining souls, which, assisted by God, she did in such plentiful manner as will be hereafter declared, whilst [during] her stay in those parts." Mary crossed then to England some time in the spring or early summer of 1617. It is narrated² of one of her numerous voyages to and fro, that "as she was once crossing the sea, a fearful storm came on, and from the visible danger of death all the persons in the ship were filled with the greatest terror. Mary alone remained of good courage, and comforted them with the promise that nothing would happen to them, which soon came to pass, for with her usual confidence she threw an Agnus Dei into the sea, and it became completely calm." On her arrival she at once joined in all the labours and dangers of her Sisters on the mission, as the results show which before long ensued. The proceedings of the English Virgins in their native country, however prudently and quietly they conducted their affairs, were attended with too much success to

² *Gottseliges Leben*, &c. Father Tobias Lohner, S.J. p. 253.

remain any longer hidden from the persecuting powers. Mary Ward's house was a shelter for Catholic priests and a centre of operations carried on for the conversion and relief of ignorant and oppressed souls. It can only be a matter of surprise that its inmates had been left at their work for so many years, with comparatively little molestation. Mary's fresh successes upon her reappearance in England brought matters to a point. These mischievous women were to be put to silence, and their disloyal and treasonable doings stopped, and the more effectually to perform this, Mary was made herself the chief object of attack and pursuit.

"Though all this passed," says Winefrid, "with what discretion possibly she could, to the end she and hers might continue this good [work of charity] and not be discovered [by the persecutors of our holy faith], yet was there information given to N.N. [George Abbott], then Bishop of Canterbury [of the great progress] of the much evil (as they termed it) she and hers did. [It was necessary, then, to hinder it, and for this effect he commanded that they should make all diligence to seize her] insomuch as a particular search was appointed for her, and [that she might not escape them he had published] a precise description of her person, and to make the better appear the enormity of her crime, the Bishop said [that our Mother alone] 'she did more harm than six Jesuits,' or, as Father Dominic Bissel³ reports the Archbishop's words, 'That woman had done more harm than many priests, and he would exchange six or seven Jesuits for her.' [This command gave great astonishment to all her friends, who used all the reasons they could think of] to importune her leaving the kingdom, [to which it is not credible that she would have condescended] her zeal and constancy in God's service considered, but that opportunity was offered of settling a noviceship at Liège which obliged her to return there."

Mary's stay in England thus cut short, she went back *via* St. Omer, where she had not been since her departure thence to Liège, more than a year before. She arrived at an opportune moment, for the minds of the still numerous community were in a state of great disturbance and discouragement—in common phrase, they had been "upset" by a report which had unwisely been brought into them from outside. Mr. Thomas Sackville,⁴

³ Life of Mary Ward, chap. ix.

⁴ In the Pilgrim-Book of the English College, Rome, is this entry of the year

the innocent cause of the disturbance, had lately come to St. Omer on his return from the mission to Rome, and had of course been relating the particulars of his visit there. To him we are indebted for drawing forth some most energetic words from Mary Ward to her companions, which tell the rest of the tale. They are contained in "Three Speeches of our Reverend Mother Chief Superior made at St. Omer, having been long absent,"⁵ The following extracts are taken from them :

"The First. I have spoken with none of you in particular, but this which I shall say in general may serve every one in particular—that is, that you love verity. Who can love a lie, and all things are lies that are not as they are in deeds ; or who can love a creature or a friend that is not as he seemeth to be.

"Mr. Sackfield commending us and our course, and telling how much it was esteemed by men of judgment and amongst the Cardinals at Rome, Father Minister being by, answered, 'It is true whilst they are in their first fervour, but fervour will decay, and when all is done, they are but women !'

"Mother, hath he heard the confessions often ?' (Answer) 'Some three weeks, when Father More was sick.' So long, I promise you, he may then have some knowledge of you, but without revealing confessions, I would know what you all think he meant by this speech of his, 'but women,' and what 'fervour' is. Fervour is a will to do good, that is, a preventing grace of God, and a gift given gratis by God, which we could not merit. It is true, fervour doth many times grow cold, but what is the cause ? Is it because we are women ? No, but because we are imperfect women. There is no such difference between men and women. Therefore it is not because we are women but, as I have said before, because we are imperfect women, and love not verity, but seek after lies. *Veritas Domini manet in æternum*—the verity of our Lord remaineth for ever. It is not *veritas hominis*, verity of men, nor verity of women, but *veritas Domini*, and this verity women may have, as well as men. If we fail, it is for want of this verity, and not because we are women.

"Many ladies and others in England, so long as they had some Fathers of the Society with them, lived virtuously with

1616: "Lord Thomas Sackville, the illustrious, January 3. Left the Hospice April 22." His business as to the confirmation was then ended, but he did not come to St. Omer till the next year.

⁵ Nymphenburg Manuscripts. They are written in the same hand, and with the same ancient spelling, as Father Lee's addresses and letters.

great fervour and zeal in their beginnings, but after have fallen, not only into tepidity and coldness, but into atheism and other abominable errors, not fit to be spoken of. The cause of this was not because they were women, but because they placed their affections more in the esteem of those that for the present guided them than in this verity, which is only God. So when they lost them that first guided them, and had others, they lost their fervour and all, and this without any fault in their first directors, for what they did was well. Neither do I blame those who came after, for I intend to condemn none, though in the latter there might be some fault, but the cause was they sought not verity. Divers religious also, both men and women, have lost their fervour, because they have been unmindful of this preventing truth, which is a gift of God, and a sign of predestination, as you have often heard, I am sure I have, of those who are wiser than I."

Mary then proceeds to give some of the causes for the diminution of fervour, adding, that "fervour is not placed in feelings, but in a will to do well, which women may have as well as men. There is no such difference between men and women that women may not do great things, as we have seen by example of many saints who have done great things. And I hope in God it will be seen that women in time to come will do much. I beseech you all, for God's love, to love verity and true dependence, and not to adhere to the Superior, to this Father or this creature for affection, so that if they be lost all is lost. Yet affection is good and dependence, but not for affection, so that if they be lost all is lost. This is verity, to do what we have to do well. Many think it nothing to do ordinary things. But for us it is. To do ordinary things well, to keep our constitutions, and all other things that be ordinary in every office or employment, whatsoever it be, to do it well, this is for us, and this by God's grace will maintain fervour."

"Heretofore we have been told by men we must believe. It is true we must, but let us be wise, and know what we are to believe and what not, and not to be made to think we can do nothing. If women were made so inferior to men in all things, why were they not exempted in all things, as they are in some? I confess wives are to be subject to their husbands, men are head of the Church, women are not to administer sacraments, nor to preach in public churches, but in all other things, wherein are we so inferior to other creatures that they should term us

'but women?' For what think you of this word, 'but women?' but as if we were in all things inferior to some other creature, which I suppose to be man! Which I dare be bold to say is a lie; and with respect to the good Father may say it is an error.

"I would to God that all men understood this verity, that women if they will may be perfect, and if they would not make us believe we can do nothing, and that we are but women, we might do great matters.

"There was a Father that lately came into England whom I heard say that he would not for a thousand of worlds be a woman, because he thought a woman could not apprehend God. I answered nothing, but only smiled, although I could have answered him, by the experience I have of the contrary. I could have been sorry for his want—I mean not want of judgment—nor to condemn his judgment, for he is a man of very good judgment; his want is in experience.

"It was a wise speech of the Queen of Spain, when she had brought the Teresians into some part of Spain, and much commending them, some went of curiosity to see them, and after they had seen them said they were not such as they had expected. She answered: 'If you look upon them as saints, you shall find them women; but if you look upon them as women, you will find them saints.' So we may say of men, if we look upon them as prophets, we shall see their imperfections, but if we look upon them as men, we shall see them far otherwise.

"That you may not be deceived, you may know them by the fruits of their counsels. Those by whom you have been directed have generally been the best directors for all. For what can this profit you, to tell you you are but women, weak and able to do nothing, and that fervour will decay? I say what does this profit you, but bring you to dejection and without hope of perfection. All are not of this opinion. Sure I am, he that this day went to Heaven for you, where he is able to do more for you than when he was here, was of another mind, as many of you can witness. He never dealt with any that he led not to God by perfection. This is all I have to say at this time, that you love verity and truth."

The reference in these latter sentences to Father Lee and the anniversary of his death gives the month of November as the date of this conference, and thus fixes the time of Mary's return from England. The dejection into which the community

had been thrown must have been considerable, the more for their respect and value for the Father whose words had been reported to them, for Mary renews the subject in the two succeeding addresses, endeavouring to raise their spirits and their courage, and to inspire them with a great reverence and value of their calling as a special gift of God. Thus she says to them in the "Third Speech:" "You are spectacles to God, angels, and men; it is certain God has looked upon you, as He never looked upon any. I say not better, nor in a greater or more excellent manner, nor with more love, for I intend not to make any comparisons. But I say as He never looked upon any; and this is certain, the angels we may believe looketh upon you and upon all other creatures, according to the will of God. Men, you know, looketh diversely upon you; all looketh upon you as beginners of a course never thought of before, marvelling what you intend and what will be the end of you. Some, thinking we are women, and aiming at greater matters than was ever thought women were capable of, they expect perhaps to see us fail, or come short in many things.

"Others esteem us but women, and with a kind of emulation that we should compass and bring to pass things beyond the compass of such weak creatures as they have ever esteemed women to be, expect to see our fervour decay, and all come to nothing, ourselves to shame and confusion. Others, I am sure, looketh upon us with another conceit, expecting all the world to be bettered by us! Now, Sisters, since God hath particularly looked upon you, calling you to this state of life, and giving you this vocation, I doubt not but some of you thirsteth greatly after the effecting of His will, and have no patience that you have profited no more." She then proceeds to tell them how perfection is to be attained, and what is true knowledge and its end, namely, God, adding: "Remember that He be the end of your actions, and therein you will find great satisfaction, and think all things easy and possible." Meantime, she does not lose sight of the axiom with which she begun, saying: "With respect to the good Father, I must needs defend this verity, the truth of which I am assured of, that fervour needs not necessarily decay because we are women. Yet I intend not to condemn him; notwithstanding this, he may have much knowledge, and perhaps he hath all other knowledge, and I have only this knowledge, and light of this only verity, by which, perhaps, I must be saved. Therefore I must and will

ever stand for this verity, that women may be perfect, and that fervour must not necessarily decay because we are women."

Mary did not remain long in St. Omer; but having thus quieted and strengthened the troubled minds of her sisters there, she went on to Liège, and "as soon as arrived applied herself to" arrange the new house of which possession had been given her as a novitiate. The circumstances by which she was led to adopt this plan have not come down to us. Little more is known than that the house was on the Pierreuse, another of the heights above the city, and that it did not interfere with the continuance of the establishment on Mont St. Martin, but was a second filiation from St. Omer. We further hear that Mary herself, "as if in perfect health, attended to the particular exercises of the novices."

It must have been during this visit to Liège that Mary became personally known to the Prince-Bishop, Ferdinand. He returned to the city in March, 1618, and held a synod in April, in which many decrees were passed tending to the revival of fervour in religion, and a stricter observance of discipline, both among the clergy and religious. The ecclesiastics of Liège had been for many years engaged in the arduous work of reforming their Breviary. That hitherto used had been peculiar to the diocese, but a commission had long been occupied in remodelling it according to the Roman use, though some among the clergy still opposed any change. Mary Ward had an especial love for all that concerned the fitting adornment of the church and the reverent performance of the worship of God. Nothing with her could be too bright and beautiful which was to honour our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. Having been accustomed also all her life to the Roman Ritual, she ordered everything in the church of the house at Liège in accordance with it, and so exactly as to draw the attention of the Liège clergy, to whom the subject of liturgic observances was then of great interest, and to call forth their eulogiums. "They vouchsafed," says Winefrid, "to say that 'they might and did learn of her.'" The musical part of the offices of the church was also exquisitely performed, by means, doubtless, of the voices of the English Virgins who formed the choir. That the Prince-Bishop was on most friendly terms with the two communities is shown from his not unfrequently attending Divine service or saying Mass in their church, when we are told that he preferred hearing their music to that of his own choir, "as surpassing it," as he said.

Catholic Review.

REVIEWS.

1. *The History of Esarhaddon (son of Sennacherib), King of Assyria, B. C. 681—668*, translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions upon Cylinders and Tablets in the British Museum Collection together with the Original Texts, a grammatical analysis of each word, explanations of the ideographs by extracts from the bilingual syllabaries and list of eponyms, &c. By Ernest A. Budge, M.R.A.S., Member of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. London: Trübner and Co. 1880, 8vo, 163 pp.

AMONG the Assyrian Cuneiform Inscriptions the first rank is assigned to the annals of the kings, which enable us to reconstruct the history of the Assyrian Empire for more than five centuries in a period of frequent contact with the Jewish people. For this reason, principally, more general interest has been aroused by Assyriological researches than by discoveries in Egypt. Even little details of new information have been eagerly welcomed by scholars and by the public. The so-called Eponym Canon, which was first discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson, gave a sound historical basis for Assyrian chronology from 893 B.C. until about 650 B.C., since the eponyms of every year are now known in an uninterrupted series, and many historical events, dated after the eponyms, have their place marked out with certainty in this chronological system. It therefore became possible to write a history from the monuments. The chief sources of information are the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser the First, Assurnazirpal, Salmanassar, Tiglathpileser the Second, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal, the other kings having left comparatively short notices behind them. These chief historical documents have been made the subject of many publications during the last twenty years, and in proportion as the knowledge of the language and antiquities of Assyria has made progress with the aid of the study of the bilingual inscriptions and fragments, the more necessary it is that we should possess a scientific republication of these historical texts with full philological explanations. For this reason Dr. Lotz must

be held to have rendered good service to philologists and historians by publishing last year his Commentary on the annals of Tiglathpileser the First, wherein he showed the right manner of explaining texts affecting the history of the kingdom. It would be desirable, however, that no one should attempt such a task without having a thorough acquaintance with the original writing on the clay tablets, for without this it is altogether impossible to appreciate the special difficulties of the study. The best explanations of the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser the Second are given by Dr. Schrader, but unfortunately they occur in scattered pamphlets and in books having various titles. A complete collection of them would be very useful even now. Dr. Oppert and M. Ménant worked out the inscriptions of Sargon nearly twenty years ago, and their work was excellent, according to the knowledge then acquired. Mr. George Smith was the man most able to furnish correct texts, as he was obliged in the British Museum to examine all the inscriptions, and could refer to the originals in every doubt. His edition of the annals of Assurbanipal is therefore still valuable, although it is often deficient in philological exactness. He had prepared the annals of Sennacherib on the same scale, but he did not live to finish it, and as Professor Sayce, who took charge of the publication, could not venture to make any changes, this second work was inferior to the first. Of the other texts we as yet possess only popular and preliminary translations, as in the *Records of the Past*, and in scientific periodicals, so that the annals of Assyrian kings still furnish ample matter for the labours of accurate and zealous commentators.

It was the intention of Mr. Budge, in undertaking the work which we are now examining, to continue the plan of Mr. George Smith, and to complete the history of Assyria from 705 B.C. to 626 B.C. by adding the "History of Esarhaddon." Consequently we have now the history of the father (Sennacherib 705—668 B.C.), the son (Esarhaddon, 681—668 B.C.), and the grandson (Assurbanipal, 668—626 B.C.), all derived from the Assyrian monuments. It is to be regretted that these three works are not published in a uniform edition, as they are so closely connected in subject and intention. The author of the last published of the three states in the Preface that he has "used all the historical texts, and that every line of these has been carefully compared with the original clay tablets and cylinders in the British Museum. But it cannot be expected that every notice

concerning Esarhaddon which may be found upon contract or other tablets will be given in so small a book. In the first place it would necessitate a strict and careful examination of every tablet and tablet fragment in the British Museum collection, which alone would require many many months to be devoted entirely to the purpose—no small task either, as any one will see who knows the nature of the writing on the tablets. Secondly, when done, the chances are that it would place the book out of the reach of commercial enterprize. These two reasons taken together will account for the omission of the text and translation of a tablet containing 'Addresses to Esarhaddon,' and also of another containing an account of Esarhaddon's buildings, and numbered K 3053." Notwithstanding these reasons the author should have been careful to give at least some hitherto unpublished texts from the collection in the British Museum, if only to prove that he is able to do so, and there could be no difficulty in supplying references to the existing texts; for no one can write a history without having consulted the documents on which it is founded. As he expresses his gratitude to Mr. Pinches for copies of some texts and verifications of others, we have a right to suppose that he could easily have had access to the very interesting tablet K 3053, which contains an account of all the temples built by Esarhaddon throughout Assyria, and exhibits that King as a great protector of religion. Besides this important monument and a few contract tablets, there is in the British Museum a whole series of inscriptions referring to Esarhaddon, which the late Mr. George Smith supposed to refer to the downfall of the Assyrian Empire. In a work claiming to be a "History of Esarhaddon" these documents should be at least mentioned, for it cannot be said that a mere interlinear version of certain texts will justify such a title.

The author continues in the Preface: "Parts of the text relating the history of Esarhaddon have been translated before by my friend Dr. Julius Oppert, Professor of Arabic in the University of France,¹ the profound scholar and earnest pioneer of Assyrian in France." But, in reality, there is not a single text in the book which has not been already published and even translated into English several times by Fox Talbot, George Smith, and others in the *Records of the Past*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, &c., so that only the

¹ Dr. Julius Oppert is Professor of Assyrian in the Collège de France at Paris.

arrangement of the texts and the translation are the work of the new editor. Some account of the discovery of these texts, and of the attempts made to translate them when they were first published, would have been very welcome, and would, moreover, without doubt have led the author to compare the existing remains of the palaces and other antiquities with the description given by Esarhaddon himself. It must be confessed with sorrow that our modern Assyriologists pay too little attention to archaeology, and their reputation has suffered much in consequence. The study of Cuneiform Inscriptions is essentially an archaeological study, and if it be restricted to philological investigations and interlinear versions, many errors will be committed.

After a short account of the genealogy and accession of Esarhaddon, and of the principal events of his reign, we find in the next place that portion of the Eponym Canon which has reference to his time, then the so-called "Will of Sennacherib" (translated by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 138), and finally, in historical arrangement, the two Cylinders of Esarhaddon (translated by Fox Talbot in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iii. p. 101, seq.). These are divided into the chapters: Esarhaddon's battle at Khani-rabbat against his brother, the war against Nabu-zir-napisti-esir, the expedition against Abdi-Milkutti, King of Sidon, the expedition against Cilicia, the Arabian War, the Median War, the buildings of Esarhaddon, and the building of the palace. In an Appendix are given the names of various kings defeated in Western Asia and the kings appointed by Esarhaddon in Egypt (from the annals of Assurbanipal).

No one who considers the great difficulty of putting Cuneiform text into type will be surprised to find one page of errata in sixty pages of text, but that this list is not complete the following animadversions will suffice to show. The determinative affix for the country *Sumeri* is throughout wrongly printed (pp. 16, 3; 18, 4; 32, 1). It would seem, indeed, that the author had not observed the difference between this affix (*ku*) and the one ordinarily in use for countries (*ki*). In page 18, l. 6, we find *se* instead of *mat*, l. 8, wrong characters in both words, *sakkanakku* and *Babilu*, l. 9, the character for *u* wrongly printed; all these mistakes in one short page having escaped the revision. Other misprints may be easily pardoned, as they have been caused by leaving out only one stroke; thus in p. 116,

14, and again in the monogram for *Nabu* (p. 32, 5, and p. 100, 19). We find (p. 28, 4), *ad* for *çi*, *ul* for *alpu* (p. 64, 59), *si* for *su* (p. 78, 12); the syllables *ra* (p. 78, 16) and *ni* (p. 127, 96) are left out; one compound character is separated and put into two lines (p. 84, 48), the same mistake occurs also p. 34, 11. In the last passage the author seems to have misunderstood the word altogether; the very common word *as'-sukh* is separated wrongly and read accordingly *as'-s'ur-su-ma*, which form is explained in the vocabulary as: "1st sing. masc. aor. Niph. from hebr. *as'ar*, 'to make captive'" (*sic*), instead of 1st sing. imperf. Kal from *nas'akhu*, hebr. *nas'akh*. Greater carelessness is shown in the transliterated text, which seems not to have been revised at all. So we often find *s* (the hebr. *shîn*) and *s'* (the hebr. *samek*) interchanged as in *Sin*, *cis's'ati*, *mas'ac*, &c., instead of *S'in*, *cissati*, *masac* (p. 35, 20); even impossible combinations of consonants are admitted (p. 65, 56) *ina-khats-su-va* for *im-khats-tsu-ma*; letters are inserted as p. 25, 21 *e-mu-v-ru-va* for *e-mu-ru-ma*, &c. It was the author's intention apparently to write the so-called monograms or Accadian words with capital letters according to the Accadian pronunciation, but he seems to have adhered to no system, since we find the same word p. 31, 19, *cacc(i)*, p. 43, 9, *CACCI* (compare p. 59, 23 and 57, 16), &c.; sometimes the Accadian pronunciation is given, p. 27, 7, *D.P. GU-ZA*, but oftener it is the Assyrian, as in the same line *AB i-ya* (p. 29, 13), *D.P., su-par SAKI-ya* (p. 65, 51), *BILAT (TIG-UN)*, &c. Such arbitrary changes cannot fail to alarm a beginner, if the book is intended for beginners, as he is almost sure to think there is a certain hidden reason for all this apparent variety. Other changes in the transliteration even a beginner might find out as p. 23, 18, *ku-ra-di-su-im* for *ku-ra-di-su-un*, p. 57, 9, *au-khu-s'u-nu* for *an-khu-s'u-nu*, &c. &c. It may be regretted that the author did not accept another system of transliteration, representing a single Hebrew letter by a single English letter, as Teth by *t* with a dot beneath, Zade by *ç*, &c., *m* always as *m*, and not arbitrarily as *v* (as there is in Assyrian grammar no *vivation*, but only a *mimation*), as the best Assyrian scholars have adopted it in scientific papers; certainly the character which is transliterated by *ah* has no vowel inherent in the ordinary words (p. 49, 42. *Na-bi-ah*).

It would be too long to point out all mistakes or misprints, but we cannot pass over a curious one on p. 109, 26, where we find the Assyrian monogram for total (probably, if the Cunei-

form text is correct, read *napkharis*) transliterated in capital letters by the Latin, *in summa*, and translated as "altogether." Other transliterations show the author has not understood the derivation of the words or the exact meaning; as, for instance, when we see the character *ka* transliterated as *karni* (p. 15, 2), and *karan* (p. 35, 20), ivory, the word *ku* as D-P., SUBTU (p. 35, 20) chair-wood, *u-sar-rid* (p. 21, 1), I caused to descend, for *u-sar-sid*, *es-rit* as ten, instead of *es-rit*, sanctuary (p. 75, 45), as Fox Talbot translated it rightly and the context requires; *e-gal* palace, for *e-kal*, *sari* (p. 19, 8) for *sarri*, king, &c. Besides, the spelling with *y* in the verbal forms of the Pael before *u* seems to be antiquated and even impossible in the Assyrian language; we should therefore prefer to see written *u-tar-ru* (p. 83, 43), as it is really in the Assyrian text, instead of *yu-tar-ru*, as some scholars used to write it by way of correcting, we must suppose, the Assyrian scribe. If we consider the spelling in the inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal, we should be inclined to doubt whether the Assyrians ever admitted the letter *y* as a consonant (Hebr. Jod) before vowels, although it is very often written. The Assyrian numerals are familiar when written in figures, but the pronunciation of all of them has not been ascertained, and to conclude from the known forms we may expect words resembling Hebrew, Arabic, or Syriac. It fairly takes away the breath of a Semitic scholar to find (p. 83, 32) "95½ great cubits" transliterated into Assyrian: "SUSSU + SILASA + KHAMSA bar-u rab-tiv," and translated: "ninety-five great bar-u."

We have already seen a few examples of the translation in examining the correctness of the text and the transliteration. By necessity, an interlinear version never can give the exact meaning of another language, differing in genius as widely as Assyrian from English; it would therefore be much better to give a grammatically correct translation in English and to add notes explanatory of the difficulties which occur. We venture to say that no Englishman will understand, for instance, the following sentence (p. 83, 38 seq.): "Doors of Sherbin wood, of which their foundation (is) good, a band of silver and copper I bound (on them), and I hung in its (?) gates bulls and colos'si (*sic*), who according to their fixed command, against the wicked they turn (themselves); they protect the footsteps, making peace (to be upon) the path of the King, their Creator (Who made them). (Positions) to the right hand and left I caused to take

(occupy) the avenue of them." Nevertheless, Esarhaddon speaks quite clearly and expresses exactly what Sir Henry Layard² described many years ago in his account of the remains of the Assyrian palaces. It cannot fail to strike the reader that such translations must be incorrect. They ought not to be published without archæological notes, illustrating the meaning of the passages from sculptures or from the report of the excavators, from the historical works of ancient classical writers or from parallel texts in the Inscriptions. An Assyriologist who neglects these aids to interpretation is liable to fall into grievous errors, however careful he may be in forming his philological conclusions. As the translation is simply interlinear, without any attempt to make it agree with the necessities of English grammar, and without any notes on difficult passages or constructions, it is needless to enter into a further examination.

The author continues: "The grammatical analysis has been thrown into a vocabulary arranged according to the order of the English alphabet." We turn to the vocabulary, expecting to find there the critical apparatus for the verifying of the translation, together with a synopsis of the progress made in Assyrian studies from the commencement. Certainly the title of the book seems to promise a philological commentary. But the reader is grievously disappointed. This "vocabulary" is not an index, because all the references are wanted; not a vocabulary, because no meaning of the words is given; and as a grammatical analysis it is useless to every one, because a beginner of Assyrian studies will find a fuller explanation in any of the elementary Assyrian grammars. Semitic scholars, however, will find with surprise a large amount of new information in these few pages. The conviction is inevitable, that the author has not sought in any dictionary the Hebrew words which he compares with the Assyrian. If he had done so, it would have been impossible for him to compare, for instance: "*abil* subs. sing. masc. cons. (the son), Hebr. *hebel* (vanity); *arca* prep. (after), Hebr. *arak* (to be long); *ascun* 1st sing. aor. Kal (I made) Hebr. *shakān* (to dwell, to rest); *babani* subst. pl. (the gates) Hebr. *bābāh* (the pupil of the eye); *cips'i* subs. plur. masc. of *cips'u* (the footstep), Hebr. *kābās'* (to wash); *ellat-s'u* subs. plur. masc. (*sic'* his army) Heb. *khil* (the labours of childbirth); even the Latin word *in-summa* we find in this Assyrian vocabulary translated by "in all, altogether;" the very common word *sallat*

² *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh.* London, 1851: p. 344.

(booty, Hebr. *shālāl*) is explained : subs. fem. sing. Hebr. *sālāl*, "to elevate" (*sic*), &c. In the parsing of Assyrian words, the author shows that he is not well acquainted with the languages which he compares with Assyrian, and which Assyriologists are supposed to know familiarly. Thus "*atsbiru* 1st sing. *perf.* Kal ; *ascura* 1st sing. obj. *aor.* Kal ; *atgul* 1st sing. masc. *aor.* Kal ;" here the author introduces a distinction of genders in the first person sing. in a Semitic verb, a thing till now unheard of. Again, the same form is once *perf.* then *aor.* then *obj. aor.* then *fut.* (p. 141, *inakhu*), then *pres.* (l.c. *inambū*), then *telic. obj. aor.* (p. 142, *isadha*). Such a grammatical analysis may easily suggest doubts of the extent of the author's knowledge ; for certainly it is not based on any existing Assyrian grammar. Besides many explanations unaccompanied by necessary references to the passages in which the word occurs are wrong, or at least insufficient ; as, for example, there is no reason, except in the context, why *itsuri* should be subs. masc. *sing.*, *linni* subst. *plur. masc.* It may be said, in conclusion, that a vocabulary to the inscriptions of Esarhaddon has still to be written, and it will be of great service to students until they possess a complete dictionary of the Assyrian language.

This book is apparently intended as an introduction to Assyrian studies, but we have seen that it stands in need of many corrections and additions, before it can be considered to have reached that height of science which a reviewer in the *Times*, January 27, 1881, discovers in its pages : "Many of the texts, obscure and doubtful at the time of Mr. Smith's death, are now, by critical study, rendered almost as clear as a page of the Hebrew Scripture." Until the translations of Assyrian tablets are proved philologically and archæologically with the same exactness with which we can prove the difficult passages of the Bible, we may safely refuse our assent to the conclusions which are drawn from these inscriptions alone, and it is only loss of time to labour to show the agreement of such results, often inaccurate and conjectural, with what is contained in the Bible or asserted by ancient historians.

2. *Far Out : Rovings Retold.* By Lieut.-Col. W. F. Butler, C.B. London : William Isbister, 1880.

The eloquent author of *The Great Lone Land* has collected into one volume several narratives already favourably known. The personal experiences which are brought together in these

pages have no other unity of design than that which is skilfully expressed in the first words of the title. They belong to many parts of the earth's surface, but almost always to regions which lie outside the line of ordinary visitation. From the neighbourhood of the Deer's Lake and the Athabasca River in the thinly peopled land which stretches westward from Hudson's Bay, we are hurried to California and the Yosemite Valley, and in a few pages we are among the Afghans, and then again among the Zulus. Everywhere we are in pleasant company, for Colonel Butler, although occasionally his fluency runs away with him, is a master of description, and his criticisms and prophecies are at least worth disputing. Some of the journeys seem to have been made principally for the sake of arriving at the end of them. Although an arctic voyage may be barren of practical or immediate results, the idea of penetrating into secrets of nature never yet divulged and possibly of vast importance to science forms a sufficient motive, to develop a sense of duty and to give a charm to self-sacrificing labour; but it must be confessed that a journey of fifteen hundred miles over a desolate land of pine forests and frozen lakes and snow as far as the eye can reach is a very desperate remedy for the weariness which comes from having had a little too much of civilized life in England. Still, it is pleasant to look back upon.

The reality of the wilderness had become a dream. Idealized by distance and separation—the camp, the lonely meadow, the dim pine woods, the snow-capped mountains, the mighty hush of nature, as the great solitude sank at sunset into the sleep of night—all had come back to me in a thousand scenes of memory; and in the midst of the rush and roar of a great city, I had seen, as though in another world, the long vista of unnumbered meadows lying at the gateway of the sunset. I had heard the voice of lonely lakes and pines that whispered into the ear of night the melody of unmade music.

We turn from the dream to the reality.

For sixty-four days, through wood and waste, along endless stretches of frozen river, over the ice of unknown lakes, the untiring dog held his way. The deep Green Lake, the icy Lac Isle à la Crosse, the long ridge of Methy, the valley of the Clearwater, the great Lake Athabasca, the steep shores that overlook the winding channels of the Peace River, saw, one by one, the bushy tail and down-bent head of the dauntless hauler; and night after night the camp-fires along this stretch of fifteen hundred miles shed their light upon the Untiring, and beheld him as faithful and as jolly as when we had quitted my log-hut at the Forks of the Saskatchewan. . . .

We had stopped our march for the midnight halt and cup of tea; the dogs lay crouched within their traces in that happy power of forgetfulness which, whatever may be their trouble, enables them to sink at any moment into the oblivion of sleep and rest.

"How far now, Kalder?" I asked.

"Not far. Five hours more."

Fifteen miles out of fifteen hundred should seem a short distance, and yet it did not to me that night. I was tired, heart and soul, of snow-shoes.

"Let us go on, it will be the sooner over."

Rousing up the sleeping dogs, we went on for the last time. They were loth to quit their snow-beds. What knew they that the end of the long journey was so nigh? In that at least we had the advantage. The Untiring, still leading, ran very lame. He was booted on both fore feet; but even boots could not save him from the sharp glass-like ice. . . . Poor old dog! thin, worn, and lame; his woolly hair no longer able to hide the sharp angles of shoulder and hip-bones; with neck frayed by constant friction of collar and moose-skin traces; with tail no longer curled over back, but hanging in a kind of sad slant behind him; nevertheless, gamely tugging at trace and collar—thus he drew nigh his last halt (pp. 25, 27, 28).

The faithful dog so wins our sympathy, that it is a positive relief to hear how, at the end of three days, he had recovered his usual health and spirits.

There are many picturesque passages which we should like to transcribe for their own sake, but perhaps we shall be doing more useful service in the short space at our disposal by calling attention to some statistical facts which are not generally known. They shall be given in Colonel Butler's words:—

It was a glorious epoch, that of the Peninsular War! Nine-tenths of the names embroidered in golden letters on our regimental colours were won in the five years intervening between 1809 and 1814. The story of that time has still power to recall to us memories full of the glory of battles won from Napoleon's greatest captains, of sieges in which the valour of our soldiers was pre-eminent, of marches and feats of endurance never paralleled in our modern history, before or since. But though the battles of the Peninsular war, and still more the crowning victory of Waterloo, are household names among us, we have wholly lost sight of a fact that at the time did much to influence the national joy over our victories; that fact was our long-continued failure in any portion of Europe to oppose the legions of the Republic or of the Empire. On the coast of France, in the Low Countries, in Flanders, in Sicily, in Corsica, in Naples, at Genoa, we had utterly failed to maintain our expeditions. In Egypt alone had our land forces been successful, and in Egypt every element of success was on

our side. From 1793 to 1809 we had not a single result to show on the continent of Europe for the three hundred millions sterling which we had added to the national debt in that period. Our expeditions to France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Italy, Corsica, had all ended in complete failure. It was on this account that the victories of the following years appeared so glorious. The nation's faith in its army had reached its lowest ebb, and the reaction of victory was proportionately great.

But the greatness of the success in Spain and at Waterloo did much towards hiding from view then and since the actual losses sustained. When we here state that our entire loss in killed in Spain, Portugal, and Flanders, including all the battles, engagements, skirmishes, sieges, and sorties, did not amount to the loss in killed suffered by the Germans in the two battles of Gravelotte and Sedan, we state a fact which will doubtless astonish many readers. Yet it is nevertheless true. A statement of our actual losses during the years from 1808 to 1815 inclusive, will be read with interest in these days of breechloaders:

1808, including Rolica and Vimiera	192
1809, " Talavera	777
1810, " Busaco, &c.	159
1811, " Barossa, Albuera, &c.	1,401
1812, " Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Burgos, &c.	1,990
1813, " Vittoria, Pyrenees, San Sebastian, Nivelle, and Nive	2,234
1814, " Orthez, Toulouse	672
1815, " Quatre Bras and Waterloo	1,829
	<hr/> 9,254

But from this total must be taken 1,378, the number of foreign soldiers killed in our service, leaving 7,876 as the entire loss in killed during the whole war in Spain and Portugal, together with that of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. Six thousand men killed in the entire Peninsular War! Not half the Russian loss at Eylau, less than the Russian loss before Plevna, less than half the French dead at Waterloo. Here is a fact lost sight of and worthy of repetition many times (pp. 291—293).

Colonel Butler's gloomy reflections, founded on the fact that so small an expenditure of men was enough to drain the resources of the country, we cannot accept as conclusive. His facts show that we cannot carry vast armies into European warfare, and we never thought we could, but if there is no sadder sign than that of England's approaching dissolution, we may trust in God that she still has a glorious future before her. One wish certainly suggests itself. If the tide of Napoleon's victories could be turned, and Europe could be set free from bondage, at so small a cost of life in the early days of the nineteenth century, would that we might exchange again our superfluously efficient Martini-Henry for clumsy Brown Bess!

3 *Selected Essays on Language, Mythology, and Religion.* By F. Max Müller, K.M.
2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1881.

Professor Max Müller has republished in these two very handy and elegant little volumes many of his valuable lectures and essays. We notice with satisfaction that no one of the Hibbert Lectures of 1878 has been found worthy of being again offered to the public; and the omission of the four lectures on the Science of Religion, delivered at the Royal Institution in 1870, is, in our opinion, additional proof of the wisdom of the selection. When he confines himself to linguistic and philological speculations and researches, Professor Max Müller is always admirable, as interesting as he is profound; but when he begins to theorize on the Science of Religion, which he persists in treating as a species of deduction from the principles of the Science of Language, his learning and charm of style alike fail him. We will take the Introduction to these volumes as an example. Professor Max Müller's object on page 20 is apparently to prove that "the ancient Fathers of the Church" shared his own liberal or rather rationalistic views of "the religions of mankind." In order to achieve this difficult task he gives us one brief passage from St. Justin Martyr, two from St. Clement of Alexandria, and one from St. Augustine. The point of St. Justin's words is that "those who live according to the Logos are Christians, notwithstanding they may pass with you for atheists." St. Justin only says "even if they were considered atheists." From this Professor Max Müller obviously wishes his readers to draw the conclusion that St. Justin advocated a creedless Christianity where "trust and love" are the sole guides of the spirit untrammelled by the influences of "narrow dogma." That St. Justin could ever have entertained such views of Christianity would never have occurred to any student of his writings. The obvious meaning of the passage is that all those who act up to the lights granted them, and follow in all things the dictates of conscience, are really followers of Christ and will infallibly be saved through the merits of Christ—a truth proclaimed by every Catholic theologian. It is worth while to notice, however, that Professor Max Müller quietly takes it for granted that St. Justin's *Logos* is to be interpreted, according to the Platonic or Alexandrian view, as 'universal Reason;' in fact, twice in his translation of these few lines he renders the single Greek word by "Logos or

Reason," as if St. Justin used both words. Professor Max Müller need not have gone further than Canon Liddon's Bampton Lectures to learn that St. Justin emphatically refers "the doctrine of the *Logos* to our Lord."¹ No doubt by a kind of metonymy *Logos*, like the Hebrew *Chokmah* or the Latin *Sapientia*, has a sort of double sense, referring at one time rather to Created at another to Uncreated Reason—the exemplary and efficient cause of all reason; but this alone is quite sufficient to show that without any explanation to give Reason as the precise equivalent of *Logos* is at least misleading. In the two passages from St. Clement there is absolutely nothing to favour Professor Max Müller's views. All the Saint does is to praise Greek philosophy as a Divine gift to the Greeks to help them to save their souls by following this natural light to their minds. Finally, the force of the extract from St. Augustine seems to be, from Professor Max Müller's point of view, the holy Doctor's acknowledgment that there are remnants of Divine truth to be found even amongst the Gentiles. This scrap from St. Augustine is well known to the admirers of Professor Max Müller. It appears in various forms up and down his Lectures, and was even paraded in the *Times* of December 30, 1880. It has done the learned Professor ample service, but perhaps it might be less misleading if, on the next occasion he invokes the authority of St. Augustine to prove that there is no religion without some truth in it, Professor Max Müller were to go on to tell his readers that St. Augustine adds, "Hoc vobis, quamvis integrum et verum, nihil tamen prodesset nisi ad Christi gratiam veniretis."² Or it might be well to explain how, in the book *De Unico Baptismo contra Petilianum*, chapters v. and vi., St. Augustine, writing at considerable length on the same subject, teaches that any Divine truth infidels may possess will, so far from saving, only bring on them a surer damnation if they remain where they are. "Ego autem absit ut sic detester iniquitatem tuam, ut Christi abnegem veritatem, quam in te invenio ad damnationem tuam. . . . Quamobrem sicut nihil eis proderat ad salutem, qui verum Deum ignorantes, eum tamen colebant; imo et oberat ad perniciem, quod falsos Deos simul colentes eidem vero Deo sacrilegam injuriam faciebant: sic nihil prodest hæreticis ad salutem, quod extra ecclesiam verum Baptisma per ignorantiam et tradunt et tenent;

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, 1866, p. 321.

² *De Bapt. c. Donatistas*, lib. vi. c. 44.

imo et obest ad damnationem, quod in sacrilega iniquitate erroris humani, etiam divini Sacramenti, non per quam mündentur, sed per quam severius judicentur, detinent veritatem. Et sicut Apostolus quando illos sacrilegos corripbat, Deum tamen verum, qui extra Ecclesiam ab eis ignorantibus colebatur, agnoscebat potius quam negabat: sic etiam nos quando hæreticorum sacrilegæ separationis errores corrigimus, Baptismum tamen verum, quem per ignorantiam extra Ecclesiam tradunt, utique agnoscere non negare debemus."

On the whole, exclusive of the religious element, the Selection of Essays and Lectures appears a wise and useful one, several of the new papers, notably the one on Sanskrit Texts, adding very considerably to the value of these volumes. The closing paragraph of the "Lecture on Missions" deserves special notice as containing a sufficiently clear enunciation of Professor Max Müller's Christianity. It is all summed up in "trust" and "love;" what Mr. Mill called "A kind of German religion—a religion of poetry and feeling with very little dogma."

"Let missionaries remember that the Christian faith at home is no longer what it was. . . . There are many of our best men, men of the greatest power and influence in literature, science, art, politics, ay, even in the Church itself, who are no longer Christian in the old sense of the word. . . . We cannot afford to lose these men, nor shall we lose them if we learn to be satisfied with what satisfied Christ and the Apostles, with what satisfies many a hard-working missionary."

Now, would Professor Max Müller kindly inform us from what precise epoch of the Christian Church his creedless and undogmatic Christianity dates its origin. On the one hand, he does not pretend to be a Christian "in the old sense of the word." On the other, he appears to appeal to the times of Christ and the Apostles. Was the Church founded by Christ, by the Apostles Peter, Paul, and Thomas, in India, a creedless Church? Professor Max Müller was wiser when, in his closing Hibbert Lecture, he spoke of this Church as "the Church of the future;" the Christian Church of the present or past it certainly is not. An unmistakeable sign of the times, however, is afforded by the fact that the purest rationalism—the rejection of all dogma—is now openly preached, albeit by a layman, in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

The Story of St. Frideswide, Virgin and Patroness of Oxford. By Francis Goldie, S.J. Burns and Oates.

We always welcome with pleasure any memorial of our old Saxon Saints, especially of one who was once so famous as the virgin patroness of Oxford. At present we fear too many Oxford men, even though members of the "House" where her desecrated relics still repose, are utterly ignorant of St. Frideswide, in spite of the statue of the Saint which looks down upon them from its niche in Christ Church tower. Even of those who still cherish her memory, we doubt whether half a score could be found who know anything of the details of her life. We hope that Father Goldie's pleasing little sketch will revive the interest in one whose shrine was once famous throughout the land and the resort of many a poor pilgrim who came to be cured of his infirmities by the intercession of the Saint.

St. Frideswide lived in the beginning of the eighth century: Like many of the early English saints, she was of princely blood, her father, Dida, being one of the petty kings or eorlmen, who divided England among them. Her story is that of almost all God's holy virgins. Early dedication of herself to God's service—suffering courted from her childhood's years—unfailing charity to the poor—retirement from the world as soon as her age allowed—fierce assaults from the enemy of mankind—wonders worked by her prayers and by her words—saints and angels gathering around her death-bed—her sacred body shedding around a sweet perfume—miracles many and wonderful at her shrine. In all these particulars we have the same story, ever old but ever new, which is told of all the saints. Would that we could tell of St. Frideswide's relics as honoured throughout all the troubles of the sixteenth century! When the apostate monks of England were added still worse apostates from beyond the sea, Peter Martyr, as he is called, settled at Christ Church, and lived there with an apostate nun. In the tomb where St. Frideswide's sacred bones are laid, there have been placed also the remains of this poor wretched woman, the Protestant Dean of Christ Church in Elizabeth's reign, having wantonly perpetrated this sacrilegious outrage on Oxford's great Saint. There they have lain side by side, the angel of light and the child of darkness, from that day to this. For the details of this horrible insult thus offered to St. Frideswide, we must refer our readers to Father Goldie's pages. We rejoice to learn that

in contrast with the iniquity of those enemies of the Church, one of the present Canons of Christ Church, Protestant though he is, has marked the place where St. Frideswide's relics lie with a pious inscription which commemorates their deposition in the Cathedral and their translation to their present resting-place. May God reward his piety to her by giving him the grace to enter the fold where alone are found saints like St. Frideswide!

5. *The Life of Father John Gerard*, of the Society of Jesus. By John Morris, of the same Society. Third edition, rewritten and enlarged. Burns and Oates, 1881.

This new edition is practically a new work, and must altogether supersede the former editions. The *Life of Father Gerard* in its former shape—that is, in the first shape in which it appeared in a volume, for great parts of it first saw the light, in our own time, in the pages of this Review—was prefixed to the account of the Gunpowder Plot, by Father Gerard himself, and published under the name of the *Condition of Catholics under James the First*. In this *Life* considerable use was made of the Autobiography, which is now for the first time given us in full. But the work belongs to Father Morris as well as to Father Gerard. Additional and most valuable matter is constantly intercalated, very much in the style of the *Life of the "Yorkshire Lady," Mary Ward*, which is now appearing in our own pages. Altogether, we have now a very complete work on the life of Father Gerard—a *Life* which combines beautifully the two elements which it is most desirable to see brought out, side by side, in the narratives which are now so common of the doings of our Catholic forefathers under the persecution—the element of great sufferings and the element of exalted sanctity. We cannot fully understand what we owe to those who, like Father Gerard, kept alive the faith in England in those dark days, unless we understand what it was that they had to suffer. On the other hand, the perpetual unrelieved story of persecution after persecution, made even more dark as it occasionally is by incidents of great treachery, and even of apostacy, is scarcely pleasant reading, and is not without its irritating effect. We most sincerely desire to see some of the English martyrs raised to the honours of the altar, and we do this all the more because we believe that there are but comparatively few of our fellow-countrymen who would now feel aggrieved by the canonisation, as a reflection on the England of the present day. The true source of the persecution of Catholics was the heretical character

of the Anglican Establishment, which is fast losing its hold on the affections of the nation. The work before us has been finished with all that completeness of research which we naturally expect from Father Morris. He has had the advantage, in what relates to Norfolk, and to Father Gerard's stay in that county, of the assistance of Dr. Jessopp, the author of the *Memoir of Father Walpole*. The book is also illustrated by a very interesting plan of the Tower of London, and another of Old Liège. It is one of those books which it is difficult to lay down.

6. *The English Works of Wyclif*, hitherto unprinted. Edited by T. D. Matthew. Early English Text Society. London: Trübner, 1881.

The Early English Text Society cannot escape the fate of most such associations, and it must often publish books which are really of no great value or interest to any one, except for their antiquity or for their connection with some famous name. The present publication is an instance of this. There is really nothing of any great interest about these hitherto unpublished works of John Wyclif. They illustrate Wyclif himself, by showing us the curious mixture in the same man of principles altogether un-Catholic, with a belief in many respects far more Catholic than that even of the most advanced Ritualists and fancy religionists of our own time. The best excuse for Wyclif is that he lived in very bad times, the times of the Schism of the West, when it cannot be doubted that there was much in the lives of many of the prelates of the immensely rich Church which was a grief to her best children. Wyclif's bugbear was the Papacy, and his next great bugbear was the activity and influence of the religious and mendicant orders, his position towards which is a curious instance of the vitality, on English soil, of the principles which had so much to do with the change of religion in the country. But in his later years he fell foul of the great doctrine of Transubstantiation, thus showing how the spirit of schism and insubordination naturally engenders heresy.

The book strikes us as very well edited, and we could only wish that Mr. Matthew had had a more really valuable author to work upon. He has prefixed a short but sufficient Life of Wyclif, in which he gives us some very interesting remarks on Wyclif's theory of dominion, and of the unlawfulness of the possession of endowments by the clergy, theories which he

endeavours to make look a little less ugly than they appear at first sight. But, on the whole, Wyclif is too abusive a writer to find much sympathy in the present day, nor is there anything very powerful in his language or in his arguments.

7. *Loyal in Life and Death.* A Discourse preached at the Funeral of Colonel John Francis Vaughan, and of Mary Charlotte his wife, at Courtfield, on January 11, 1881, by the Right Rev. Bishop Hedley, O.S.B. Burns and Oates.

Funeral sermons do not always give trustworthy history, because even in a well-spent life there are generally portions which Christian kindness would like to leave untouched in the presence of friends whose hearts are heavy with grief. No such necessity of caution could have checked the utterance of Bishop Hedley when he drew the portrait of Colonel Vaughan in words which must have brought the tears into many eyes. Few Catholics, even not forming part of the family group, could have stood there unmoved beside the mortal remains of that good Christian gentleman and his honoured wife, even in death not divided. Yet it was not a panegyric that the preacher desired to pronounce. "We are not making a biography, but only trying to give a good man his due, and to learn a lesson for ourselves." The lesson of his life was loyalty. He had the English virtue of fidelity to duty, and duty, as he conceived the meaning of the term, involved the service of God as the first of all considerations. We must quote one short passage.

English Catholics have probably not yet done sufficient justice to those country gentlemen who, during the hot days of the "Papal Aggression" fury, stood up in public meetings and spoke for the Church and the Pope. Their fathers never did a braver thing when they charged the Saracen or fought the Spaniard. One has to recall how enormous is the power and pressure of political influence and social relations—how the position of a gentleman is not worth having if his county neighbours shun him—to estimate at its proper worth the action of those men who braved all they cared for most, to confess their faith, and protest against the madness of the hour.

Colonel Vaughan was not the only Catholic whose courage stood this test, but his speech at a county meeting, amid a perfect storm of Protestant bigotry, manifested in hooting and yelling at every second sentence, was a noble instance of a noble kind of confessorship. May England have many such gentlemen, and many such Catholics, in the perilous times before her!

8. *La Vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ.* Par l'Abbé C. Fouard, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Rouen. Lecoffre, Paris et Lyon, 1880. 2 tom.

This is a very good book indeed. It shows great research, a large acquaintance with the modern criticism of the Gospels, a knowledge of the scenes of our Lord's life, and a great deal of judgment in the selection of views and the discernment between authorities. It is refreshing to see such a book from a French Catholic scholar. On one or two points of importance we should be inclined to differ from the author, but his principles of harmony seem to be generally sound. What we desiderate is a more deep investigation of the gradual advance in the teaching of our Lord, of the development of the opposition to Him on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, and of the unfolding of the plan of the Church. But in fact, everything cannot be done at once, and the two volumes of which the work consists are well filled with materials and reflections useful to the student. The author writes in the clear logical style which is so happy a characteristic of French scholars.

9. *Poems: Patriotic, Religious, Miscellaneous.* By Abram J. Ryan. Baltimore, K. John Piet; London, Burns and Oates, 1880.

This is a very handsome volume, and its appearance reflects much credit on the publishers. Perhaps we must take it also as a proof of the high esteem in which Father Ryan is held among the Catholics of the United States. The publisher indeed tells us that "the name of Father Ryan is known wherever the English language is spoken"—but as the English language is spoken all over the world, even in parts so remote that the names of but few contemporary celebrities can reach them, it is probable that there is some little friendly exaggeration about such a statement. It is clear that Father Ryan was a strong supporter of the cause of the South in the late war in America, and he owns to have written certain things, then which he would not write now. He appears also to be a very truculent partisan of the cause of Ireland. His own modest estimate of his performances is quite enough to disarm criticism, and the publication of his verses, as he humbly styles them, is due to the enthusiasm of his friends. We can only say that there are a great many things in this volume which we are very glad to read, and that the writer has the true poetic *afflatus*, which he probably has had but little time to follow with all the care and labour which are required to produce great poems.

10. (1) *Nicolaï Lancicii, S.J. Opusculum Spirituale. De Piis erga Deum et Cœlites Affectibus.* Novam editionem curavit et textum recognovit Carolus Moser. Ceniponte, F. Rauch, 1881.

(2) *Select Works of the Venerable Father Nicolas Lancicius.* Vol. II. On Rash Judgments. On Aridity in Prayer. With a Preface by Father Gallwey. Burns and Oates, 1881.

1. This is the Latin text of the work known among us as Father Lancicius' Meditations. It is one of the best manuals of its kind. Happily we have, or had, an English translation of it, printed in the very valuable *Ascetical Series*. The present reprint is admirably edited, the text has been revised, the references verified, and the whole presented in a large readable type—features not always to be found in meditation books.

2. The other volume which we have coupled with this Latin reprint is the second volume of the translations from Father Lancicius, which are edited by Father Gallwey.

11. *The Church and the Moral World: Considerations on the Holiness of the Church.* By the Rev. A. J. Thébaud, S.J. New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1881.

In his previous work, *The Church and the Gentile World*, Father Thébaud argued from the rapid extension of the Church—the "instantaneous universality"—to its Divine origin. He resumes his apologetic labours, and in many suggestive chapters shows that the holiness which everywhere sprang up where the seed of the Gospel fell, is a still more convincing proof that the Church was working in the power of the right hand of the Most High. "God," he says, "is not only *Maximus*; He is chiefly *Optimus*." And He has imprinted these two characters on His Church. She awes the unbeliever into submission by the majesty of her presence, but much more she draws him to her by the beauty of virtue. Certainly Father Thébaud has done well to reserve a theme so vast for proper development in a separate treatise. He divides his subject into two parts; the first doctrinal, the second historical. The purpose of the first book is to show that the Church, being what she is, cannot fail to lead many to holiness of life. The purpose of the second book is to prove that in point of fact she has been always and everywhere the fruitful parent of holy children.

The teaching of the Church directly tends to promote virtue and to elevate the mind of man. Those who hear her voice are not left in ignorance of the meaning of life. She defines their

position in the world, tells them that they are creatures of an all-powerful and all-good God, bids them serve Him both for fear and for love. He claims their service because He has made them to serve Him, but the service which He claims from them is one of self-improvement. He made them to His image and likeness, and He commands them to labour to develop the resemblance. In this first part of her teaching the Catholic Church only carries forward and enforces the primitive revelation. She takes what is good from each period of the long preparation, and in that spirit she makes the Decalogue her own, and uses it as a powerful incentive to holiness. But when the fulness of time had come, and the All-Holy appeared upon earth—the Word made Flesh—He gave to the Church her true life-giving power. She had but to point to Him: "See and make it according to the pattern." The example of our Lord is thus the third source from which the Church derives her power of making holy. Again, she teaches men that they are capable of rising higher and higher with ever-increasing perfection, and finally, she keeps steadily before the eyes of her children the motives of virtue drawn from the comparison of the goods and evils of time and eternity. The second part is a well-selected series of examples, not of individual holiness, for which we are referred to the Bollandists, but of changes effected on a large scale in the conversion of nations and the alteration of the tone and spirit of great divisions of the human family.

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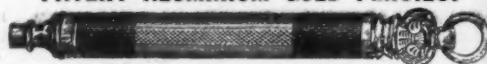
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